

# The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

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## The Principia

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## SUMMARY OF REASONS

### Against Voting for Mr. Lincoln.

A letter of Dr. CHEEVER to the Editor of the Independent.

My Dear Friend Tilton:

God gives us events, that we may control the events for the purposes of his glory, and not be controlled by them into mischief and meanness. God gave us the rebellion, that by means of it we might extirpate slavery, not that we might be controlled by the rebellion, to sacrifice justice and spare slavery. When he gave us the rebellion he put all the slaves in our power. Instead of setting them free, President Lincoln, after he had himself affirmed that they were free by virtue of the rebellion, assumed the power over them, in the name of this Government, to hold them enslaved for the rebels themselves, at his pleasure, and became, voluntarily, the greatest slaveholder upon earth.

Assuming that power, he exercised it first in the case of three millions of persons to be held as slaves forever by the rebel states; if those states, on their part, would return into the Union. It was a bribe, the greatest ever offered upon earth, except that one in the wilderness of Judea. It was a bribe, and no ingenuity can make anything else out of it. When it failed, then only did the President resort to the Proclamation of Emancipation. But in that proclamation he also re-established slavery in all those portions of the country excepted from emancipation, that is, in the portions in possession of the United States Government by the army. Where he could have set all the slaves free, he confirmed them as slaves; where he could not reach them, he proclaimed them free. Take the text of his proclamations, with the commentary of his measures, before and after, beginning with the nullification of Fremont's military order and ending with the refusal to sign the bill of Congress abolishing slavery by law, and there is no possibility of denying this conclusion.

The result is, the phenomenon of a statesman, the success or defeat of whose policy would be like ruinous to the country. If successful, he re-established slavery; if defeated, he confirmed the rebellion. In either case, by the admission of slavery being a constitutional right of the states, the rebels were left free, under the Constitution, to renew their slavery whenever they pleased. If the President himself could renew it, in the midst of his proclamations for putting it down, much more could they renew it, on returning to their allegiance.

The argument of the President in regard to the rebel states was this: Slavery is their constitutional right, but allegiance to the Government is ours. To secure our right, to maintain the existence of the government, we have the right to destroy them, on ultimate and indispensable necessity.

But slavery is constitutional, and we have the right to put down slavery only as a means, of putting down the rebellion; then, the moment the rebellion is ended, the right of slavery reverts with the Constitution. Slavery is renewed as soon as allegiance is renewed, both being equally constitutional. You have no right to put down slavery except for the crushing of the rebellion. Of course, then, all the slavery actually remaining, when the rebellion is crushed will be constitutional, and it will be equally constitutional to resume the institution where it has been abolished, if abolished only on military necessity.

So true it is that nothing but the putting down of the rebellion, on grounds of eternal justice, can secure salvation. Unless you hang these rebels as your right, you sanction their rebellion as your right, provided they honestly believe it to be for their interest, they being the supreme judge of what is expedient for themselves. You throw your action wholly on expediency; they throw theirs. They put forth the tyrant's plea, necessity, as above right; yours is no other—only yours is ultimate, theirs proximate, and they have the advantage of you.

President Lincoln has made us a slaveholding government and nation. We never were that before the inauguration of his policy; but we have been ever since, and we are now. This is our status, through his management. The nullstock of the South is ours, and President Lincoln has byphothecated it in the market, as collateral security for a settlement with the rebellion.

He questions the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the states. Yet he has assumed for himself the power and right either to abolish or to establish it, on military necessity. Have Congress no right to act on military necessity?

no right to drive a law against slavery, as well as a proclamation and an army?

A hundred years after Lord Mansfield's decision that slavery could not exist by justice; or by law, President Lincoln decides that it cannot die by justice nor by law. Lord Mansfield decided that no legislation could create it; President Lincoln, that none can abolish it. Slavery is declared dead; but President Lincoln bids it live, a constitutional existence, which national legislation cannot end, even under indispensable necessity, except by first amending the Constitution!

Were there no other reason why religious men could not conscientiously vote for Mr. Lincoln, it would be found in his theory of Ultimate Necessity, excluding a supreme regard to God and justice. God requires at our hand a ruler who will make justice and the fear of God his law, that being the object, foundation, and rule of government. Mr. Lincoln, putting in abeyance the law of God, and ignoring the rights of the enslaved, throws the question of emancipation on indispensable necessity, which, after all, turns out to be merely Mr. Lincoln's own calculation of loss and gain. It is frightful to think of justice being thrown overboard, and the policy of our country at so awful a juncture as this, determined by one man's opinion in regard to expediency. If the ultimate necessity had been the first and fundamental one of obeying God and doing justice, we should have rejected in this, and it would have been our salvation. But it is right the reverse.

Emancipation was Mr. Lincoln's reserved power for putting down the rebellion; he assumed the ability to do this at any time, by playing this power; but first we must see how near we could come to destruction without it. The act of justice and obedience to God was the thing to be avoided as long as possible, and not to be resorted to but as the last hope, under absolute necessity, when every thing else failed. Then, like our military forces, like the Sybil-line Books, on this precatory system, it was brought into action in dribbles, as little as possible at once, and too late for the necessity. Expediency for ourselves (we, not God, being the judge of degrees) was made the ground and rule of justice, not of justice the rule of expediency. This teaching is essentially immoral and atheistic. Even if we were not in the present terrible emergency, it would delude and destroy the nation, if obeyed. Can a Christian conscientiously vote for a man whose policy thus sets aside justice and God, or that is the thing making God and conscience wait upon expediency?

If it is extremely inconvenient to regard conscience and obey God, such inconvenience (gauged by the judgment of one man) is a necessity that abrogates the whole nation from obedience, until the hazard from continued disobedience makes it a necessity to obey. But of the arrival of that necessity, one man is to be the judge, and publicly declares himself such, and that he reserves to himself the responsibility and authority of such judgment and announcement. When the iron torse of circumstance tells the hour of this necessity, he will signalize, and permit the nation to obey God, but not before; and he himself is the grand circumstance, and swings himself on a calculation of loss and gain.

Mr. Lincoln distinctly avows these principles, and that he has been so faithful to them that, in his public career in regard to slavery, he has abjured the private judgment of the moral sense, and has never made a single movement out of respect to conscience or to God. Consistently with this, he declined to do anything in behalf of the legal colored delegation from Louisiana, soliciting their rights, on the ground that he could not act from moral considerations. During the whole progress of a conflict that, in the judgment of mankind, involves greater moral issues than any other in the world's history, he has never performed one action from mere deference to the moral sense. In that one declaration we read our ruin thus far. It was impossible to gain the favor of God on such a principle, and if God leaves us to fight on in that way, we destroy ourselves.

The President in his Proclamation of a National Fast, advises us "to implore God, as the Supreme Ruler, not to suffer us to be destroyed by obstinate adherence to our own counsels, which may be in conflict with his eternal purpose."

But of what avail to offer such petitions, at the same time declaring that we make it our rule to do nothing out of mere deference to the moral sense, that is, inevitably, nothing out of mere regard to God's purpose, which we can know only from God himself, through the moral sense, under the light of his Word? God's will comes to us only as appealing to the moral sense; and therefore, if we aljure that judgment, we set up our own counsels as our only guide, and are precisely like those mongrel populations of Judea described in the Second Book of Kings, "who feared the Lord, and served their own gods and graven images." To ask God that we may not be destroyed by adherence to our own counsels, when at the same time we declare that it is a ruling principle with us to do nothing out of mere deference to the moral sense, looks rather like moral insanity than mere contradiction.

The President also proposes that we "implore God to quicken the consciences of those in rebellion." But if their rule is the same with that of the President, to do nothing from mere deference to the moral sense, of what avail to ask God to quicken their consciences? The only common-sense petition, if moral sense be abjured, is that God would sharpen their sense of necessity, and press upon them the ultimate necessity of the laymen. The quickening of conscience is of no avail where the moral sense itself is flung aside, on principle, and necessity is adopted as the only supreme rule. Doubtless the rebels may say, with as much sincerity and truth as the President, that in all this conflict

they have performed no act out of mere deference to the judgment of the moral sense.

And yet they profess a conscience of the religious rightfulness of slavery, and to derive from that their necessity of supporting it, while we profess to make the expediency of putting it away our only conscience of opposing it. Which is the highest step of piety? They profess to make conscience their guide in doing evil. We profess no conscience at all, but necessity, not any object or motive in doing good, but only self interest, and that we will not do good from conscience, till necessity compels us.

One thing is certain—that the party that acts from conscience, though it be evil, will beat the party that acts only from necessity, and waits every day for the necessity to become greater, till it can be pronounced indispensable. Of course, if the slaughter of a hundred thousand men does not amount to such a necessity, a hundred and fifty thousand will come nearer it, and we must march that much closer to the indispensable, before we strike. If three years' war and desolation have not brought us so it, six years may, along with four thousand millions of debt. The greater the necessity, the nearer our salvation. This our encouragement, under the draft of five hundred thousand more.

Could these sacrifices have been avoided by an early adoption of the measure of emancipation? This is President Lincoln's own theory—deferring emancipation to the last necessity. In this view, the policy wears the aspect of cool infatuated, ferocious cruelty toward the country, in the attempt, if possible, to save slavery, though in his own acknowledgment the greatest wrong on earth. He refuses to let Congress abolish slavery by law, because he doubts whether they have the right to put an end to this wrong in the states. If he doubts, he has at least some doubt whether the slaves ought not of right to be free; and in all mercy and justice he should give the slaves the benefit of this doubt. But he gives it to the slaveholders.

He doubts if it be right for Congress to abolish that which wrong, and he is so conscientious that he cannot suffer that Congress should run the hazard of doubtful power, to extinguish the greatest wrong and crime on earth. He condemns us to continued war, and the slaves to continued slavery, rather than permit Congress to interfere by law. He struck down Fremont's proclamation, because Kentucky was unwilling. Now he strikes down the bill of Congress, after three years' suffering and death on our part, the rebellion unconquered, and the delay making it unquarable. He said he would reserve to himself alone the responsibility of determining when the ultimate necessity had come. When he issued his Emancipation Proclamation (so called), of course he thought it had arrived. But now that Congress have struck at slavery by law, he doubts if Congress have the right. If it was right for him, why not for Congress? If indispensable necessity could give him the right to strike his blow, why not Congress?

The man who can thus palter with doubts, while the country is dying, is of all others unfit for the magistracy, unfit for the place of commander-in-chief. President Lincoln has played with this conflagration till it cannot be put out. He has been fiddling with cross-proclamations of emancipation and amnesty and stratagems to relieve slavery, while his country has been burning. His latest action shows that he regards the states as having a right to enslave. This belief alone should exclude him from the presidency. What Christian patriot can think of voting for a man for the chief magistracy who believes in the right of states to enslave the citizens of the country, and holds that this right is indefensible, even by treason and rebellion?

## A WORD FROM WISCONSIN.

### DIVIDING THE UNION RANKS.

#### Where lies the responsibility?

The following paragraph, I find in the Liberator of the 1st of July.

"Senator Sumner has had an interview with the Secretary of War and the Attorney General, on the matter of the immediate payment of Massachusetts colored regiments, which it had been hoped was assured by the passage of the recent law. No decision has as yet been given. Shameful!"

We join most heartily with the Liberator in the exclamation, Shameful, Shameful! that we have such a Secretary of War and such an Attorney General. Shameful! that we have a President who will permit such an Attorney General and such a Secretary of War, to hold office for fifteen minutes. And Shameful! that the Liberator will advocate the re-election of such a President; Shameful! SHAMEFUL! SHAMEFUL!

But we are told that if we do not vote for Lincoln, and a Copperhead should be elected, we will be responsible for the results; because if we had voted for Lincoln, he would have been elected.

Let us see about this matter of responsibility. It had been declared by a large and increasing number of the Union men of the country, before the re-nomination of Mr. Lincoln, that they could not consistently or conscientiously support his re-election; and it was understood by the convention that re-nominated him, that there was a large portion of the Union party who had so declared, and upon principles which they had for a long time held, and would not sacrifice.

Therefore by nominating him, they wilfully and wickedly divide the Union ranks, and upon them must rest the responsibility of the decision.

And then again, to make the case still more clear, the radical Unionists offered to compromise the matter with the Lincoln men, so that each should give up its first choice of candidates, and unite upon a candidate that would be acceptable to both divisions of the party without any other sacrifice of either, except the mutual choice of man. Fremont patriotically and publicly signified his desire for such an arrangement of the matter; but Lincoln and his employees unpatriotically refused to consolidate the Union ranks, and upon them rests its consequences.

I am much surprised at the course of the New York Independent, inasmuch as it is not strictly a political paper. In its article on the two platforms which called forth a reply from Wendell Phillips, it assumes that Baltimore is more radical than Cleveland; and this strange assumption is based upon six words in the Cleveland platform as follows: "The rebellion has virtually destroyed Slavery." The declaration is not what the Independent, in its sophistry, claims. It wholly ignores the modifying meaning of the word virtually; and virtually, it strains out a gnat and swallows a camel. If the resolution had declared that the rebellion had destroyed Slavery, there would have been more sense in the remarks of the Independent, but in that case even, there would have been no call for its remarks; because the true meaning, which we must suppose the convention intended would be, that the inevitable effect of the rebellion is to destroy slavery—and the fact that the convention employed the word "virtually" is evidence that such was its meaning and declaration too; and not that it meant to assert, or did assert, as a matter of fact, that it had destroyed slavery. The ink and time spent in the Independent's bluster, on that score, is all thrown away—and that "the rebellion must be put down by force of arms and without compromise"—constitutes a radical anti-slavery platform that the Baltimore convention could not get near enough to see.

But if the Independent is determined to adhere to its view of the case, how can it consistently support Johnson for the Vice-Presidency? In his acceptance speech at Nashville, he uses the following language:

Let me say to you, Tennesseans, and men from the Northern States, that slavery is dead. \* \* \* In trying to save slavery you killed it, and lost your own freedom. Your slavery is dead, but I did not murder it. \* \* \* Slavery is dead, and you must pardon me if I do not mourn over its dead body."

This language construed as the Independent construes the Cleveland platform, would be false; but honesty requires a different construction, viz: that in Johnson's view of the case, the inevitable result of the rebellion was the death and destruction of slavery.

The Independent, in its second reply to Mr. Phillips, says:—

To say that slavery is dead is a heresy against Freedom—a delusion perilous to the best interests of the country—a seed-corn out of which a compromise may grow, and we protest against it with our utmost earnestness."

But will vote for it in voting for Johnson, as shown above. Again, the Independent claims a "surer honesty" for the Baltimore convention—but it will have hard work to make honest men believe it—after reading the Independent's article on the Fort Pillow massacre—and also its article on re-construction, and the President's treatment of the New Orleans colored delegation, under the head of "Let Chaos End."

What evidence of "surer dishonesty" can the Independent want adduced for the Baltimore candidate, than that furnished by his refusing to protect and pay the colored soldiers—the Frank Blair and the Arguelles case, and others too numerous to mention.

The Independent was going to have Blair and Seward removed from the President's Cabinet, in accordance with a Baltimore resolution, and "nine-tenths" of Lincoln's supporters would "swing their hats and give three cheers to have it so announced in to-morrow's paper;" but behold! to-morrow's "paper" gives the sad news that Mr. Chase has been pressed to resignation. Thus the "Aaron" in the famous picture of the President and his Cabinet as described by the Independent, has been kicked out of the "happy family"—and now the "nine-tenths" of Lincoln's supporters ought, in all consistency, to drop their heads (instead of hats) and give three groans—and we believe the country will yet groan for the want of Mr. Chase in the Cabinet.

Again, says the Independent, Is the question asked, why is it, believing as we do, that negroes ought to vote, we did not

insist that the Baltimore platform should have adopted such a clause, or be thrown overboard? Because, as we said, last week, the country is not ready for such an issue, otherwise that convention would have made it. \* \* \* But it is simply folly to push a great question to an untimely defeat at the ballot box."—N. Y. Independent's second reply to Phillips.

We are surprised to hear such talk from the Independent—it is too conservative—it tastes too strong of the President's policy of waiting upon the people to take the lead. What would have been the consequences, if anti-slavery men had practiced such a course in time past? We would join with agitation the more potent power of the ballot-box—that power which in the language of the Poet,

"Comes down as still  
As snow flakes fall upon the sod,  
And executes a freeman's will  
As lightning does the will of God."

And now is just the time, in the midst of the great revolution to secure justice to the negro; while he is bravely fighting the battles of the country, and public sentiment is as favorable to his rights as it is.—With the closing up of this great struggle through which we are now passing, and the restoration of peace, the country will settle down upon more conservative ideas, and the prejudice against color will revive to some extent when the present excitement is over, and we want (what we have got) a party organized and committed to the principle of "Absolute Equality of All Men before the Law."

In support of the position, I will quote once more, from the acceptance speech of Johnson. He says,

"And here let me say that now is the time to recur to those fundamental principles, while the land is rent with anarchy and upheaves with the throes of a mighty revolution. While society is in this disordered state and we are seeking security, let us fix the foundation of the Government on principles of eternal justice which will endure for all time."

"But the Cleveland movement is not seeking to give a vote to the oppressed negroes."—N. Y. Independent's second reply to Phillips.

"There must be no cessation nor rest until slavery is exterminated to the last root."—Fremont in his conversation with Phillips and Heinzen.

"The last thing that we shall hear of negro equality from Cleveland is what we have already heard, not to hear it again. The idea was buried in the platform to have no resurrection in the canvass."—N. Y. Independent's second reply to Phillips.

"The negroes ought to have all the rights of the whites. The word white must disappear from the laws and constitution. The absolute equality of all men before the law was exhausting this question."—Fremont's same conversation.

"No, the Cleveland movement is not for the negro; it is simply for Fremont."—N. Y. Independent's second reply to Phillips.

"If I could become President to-day, by abandoning an iota of my principles, especially with regard to slavery, I would not do it, never, never."—Fremont.

"As yet, if the lion and the lamb are to lie down together, the lamb must be inside the lion."—N. Y. Independent's second reply to Phillips.

"Let us show the people who are attached to the Democratic party the importance and necessity of a union in this time of danger; let us, at the same time, declare, openly and firmly, our aims and principles, and let us reach out to them the hand, if they share our sentiments. Should the abandonment of convictions and principles be demanded, we remain true to them at every risk."—Fremont's same conversation.

Glorious leader! let us rally under the banner which he so proudly waves to the country in its perils.

The heart which could dictate, and the tongue which could give utterance to such words can never compromise with injustice. Fremont is the same Fremont still, and ever will be,—with a world-wide reputation for all the abilities combined, which are required in a leader for the present time.

A reputation which all the political partizan cry, of "Copperhead coalition" which the Lincoln presses, including the Liberator, Independent and Anti-Slavery Standard cannot tarnish.

CHARLES C. DRAKE.

Oxford, Wis., July 30, 1864.

P. S. We must do what we can to secure to the negro the right to vote, while this conflict lasts and to this end, we must not only agitate but we must refuse to vote for any man for any important office who is not committed to the doctrine of the "Absolute equality of all men before the law."

Apprehensions of a rebel invasion from Canada.—Governor Seymour has issued an important order placing the border counties of this State, from Monroe to the line of Vermont, under the military command of General Green, in case there should be any demonstration made by "refugees" or others on the Canadian frontier.



## A SIGNIFICANT PRONUNCIATION.

From the Worcester Transcript, we learn that the following paper, submitted by Rev. Mr. Cheever before a meeting, in that city on Fast day, at the Zion Church, was unanimously adopted, after able speeches in its support by Dr. J. Lunsford Lane, Rev. Thomas A. Davis Temple, and others.

As an assembly of Christians, convened on Fast day, at the call of our National and State authorities, it has seemed to us the part of wisdom, while humbling ourselves before God under His judgments, prayerfully to inquire and ponder what are the grounds of controversy between God and our country; and what, from a comparison of the revealed principles of the Divine economy with the course of Divine providence toward our nation, are the indispensable requisites to our national integrity and salvation. And in pursuance of this inquiry we are brought to these conclusions:

I. That a chief hindrance to the reunion of our States under one Government, and to our thorough and satisfactory national consolidation, is, as intimated in the significant language of the Resolution of the U. S. Senate calling upon the President for the appointment of this day, viz: an "obstinate adherence on the part of our government and people, to counsels which are in conflict with the eternal purposes of God."

II. We therefore earnestly call upon our Government, as being the responsible collective sovereignty of the nation, immediately to abandon such counsels, and to declare in good faith the absolute equality and freedom of all men before the law, and henceforth and forever, in war and in peace, to know no difference between the nation's White Men and the nation's Black Men.

III. And we further affirm, as a portion of the Christian Commonwealth of Israel, owing supreme allegiance to Jehovah, and yielding cheerful obedience under Him, to "the powers that be" as "ordained of God," that it is impossible for a nation whose preponderating race is that of white men, to pray acceptably to the common Father of all men and the God of Justice, while doing gross injustice to its five millions of black men.

IV. And we herein see why the prayers of repeated Fast Days, since the inauguration of the rebellion, have been hitherto ineffectual, and protracted war has remorselessly wasted the blood and treasure of both sides alike, to an extent before unknown in the annals of man, because, while there has been the most unjustifiable and wicked rebellion ever known, on one side, there has been "an obstinate adhesion," on both sides, to counsels which are in fearful "conflict with the eternal purposes of God."

V. For the nation, therefore, as embodied in its rulers, to begin to do right, out of obedience to God, over and above the compulsion of ultimate necessity or political expediency, is the first condition of a permanent and satisfactory peace. And we take this legitimate occasion of a Christian Prayer meeting, on the appointed Fast day, for the solemn expression of the foregoing convictions, as having a common stake with all American Christians, in the salvation or ruin of our beloved country; and as being responsible to God, for attempting to rectify and mould public sentiment and public action by Christian principle.

## GETTING TIRED OF FREEDOM.

## Extract of a Letter.

One thing I must tell you. Our Union League has become so loyal they can no longer permit the Principia to visit their reading room. The gentleman who has always taken them there, for me, called on me, about ten days ago, to say he did not feel at liberty to do so any longer, as they were not wanted. The objection to them was their advocacy of FREEDOM for our next President, and the objection to Fremont was because he favored free speech. (and I suppose a free government.) These men seem to have got tired of freedom, and they want to try a despotic form of government. They seem to be much in love with the sample they have had of it, for the past three years, and I am inclined to think they will be indulged, to their hearts' content, before they get through. It astonishes me to see how ready they are to take the yoke upon their necks. This gentleman very kindly informed me of the formation of secret societies of Union Leagues, working men, who, when they get strong enough, would not permit any one to speak one word against the government, and he thought if they could have had one more year, before the presidential election, they might have elected their man. I feel the greatest contempt for men who cannot distinguish between the support of the Government, and the support of an Administration. Now, you know I am loyal, but I hate the rule of Abo Lincoln.

The conviction deepens upon my mind, that we are a nation given up to be destroyed. Some say they can see the light streaking the east; but I can perceive only the lurid fires of destruction, flashing up, in every direction. If the South was stricken with blindness, surely the North is.

I know good and true men should do what they can, to stem the tide of ruin which is sweeping over our land, and I think you are doing a good work, with your paper. I see clearly, now, how very superior the Principia is, to either the Standard or the Liberator. I wish I could help circulate it, all over the land,

for this people are perishing for lack of knowledge.

## A WORD FROM THE ARMY.

Mr. Lincoln losing favor with the Soldiers—and why?—Barbarity of the Chivalry—Soldiers are radicals.

CLARKSVILLE, Tenn., Aug. 2nd, 1864.

The Administration is losing favor with the soldiers, every day, for its want of efficiency, in bringing this war to an honorable close. I believe that if the election was held to-morrow, that any man known to be a thorough war man would beat Mr. Lincoln. We have been looking anxiously for the promised retaliation for the murder of our black soldiers. But we begin to fear that Abraham lacks the "sand in his craw" to make good that promise.

As the President tells us that he is governed by policy, and not by justice and right, I "guess" that he will consider it policy not to get in advance of public sentiment, and wait until after he knows whether he is to be his "own successor" or not.

But the brutal treatment of the rebels is not confined to the black soldiers. It is but a few days, since a guard of fifteen men from Co. C. of our Reg., under Lt. J. C. Gamble, started for Nashville with a drove of government cattle. When about seventeen miles from this place, they were attacked by a band said to be Southern soldiers. They captured Lt. G. and three men, took them towards the Tennessee river, robbed them of money, watches, and clothing, and placed them in line to shoot them. Lt. G. thought that as it was only death whether he stood or ran, he would give them a chance to take him on the "wing," so he broke for the woods, and after some half dozen shots fired at him, he finally made his escape. The next day, he lay in the woods, naked, and sent a trusty negro to Clarksville, for a squad of men and some clothing. The boys have just returned with Lt. Gamble alive, and found the dead bodies of his three comrades. After all that we have witnessed of the barbarity of our "Southern brethren," there are some that say "whip them easy," and that they have "rights that we are bound to respect." I tell you that the soldiers are radical, and will not be satisfied with half-way measures.

Yours for the Union, and the most radical candidate for President.

## HEAR BOTH SIDES.

Having published and commented upon the WADE and WINTER DAVIS Protest against Mr. LINCOLN's treatment of the Reconstruction Bill of Congress, we now publish the first and only reply to it that has reached us.

From the N. Y. Times.

## The Union and its Friends—The President and Congress.

We publish elsewhere a manifesto recently issued by Senator B. F. WADE, of Ohio and H. WINTER DAVIS, of the House of Representatives, from Maryland. It is a curious document—not so much for anything it contains as for what indicates. It purports to aim at protecting the constitutional rights of Congress against the usurpations of President LINCOLN. Its real object is to defeat his election, and aid the success of the Democratic party. We have tried very hard to ascribe it to some other motive, but we find it impossible. It may have had its origin in the arrogance and presumption of the two persons who have issued it, for they have for months evinced an uneasy intolerance of any rule but their own in national affairs; but the immediate purpose of the demonstration is none the less apparent. The time of its issue, the spirit that pervades it, and the exhortation with which it closes, combine to show that Messrs. WADE and DAVIS seek the defeat of Mr. LINCOLN in the pending canvass, and, as a necessary consequence, the election of his Democratic opponent, whoever he may prove to be.

It would be idle to argue with these gentlemen against the wisdom or justice of this endeavor. No two men in the nation have been more clamorous for a vigorous prosecution of the war—none more intolerant of every one who faltered or hesitated in the crusade of hatred and extermination which they have ceaselessly proclaimed, than they. No measure has been too extreme, no policy too violent, no mode of warfare too savage for their tastes. They have led the van in the blind race of radicalism and barbarism into which they have seduced many public men of wiser judgments and calmer passions than themselves. They have scouted the idea, whenever it has been presented in any form, of closing the war until not only should Slavery be abolished, but until the people of the Southern States should have been reduced to the condition of helpless vassals of the Central Government. They now issue a manifesto, of which the evident intent is to put the Government into the hands of a party, and the Executive power into the hands of a President who will end the war by a compromise of every contested question out of which it has arisen, if not by the concession of independence of the rebel States.

We do not accuse them of inconsistency in thus acting. We do not believe them guilty of it. On the contrary, we regard their present demonstration as simply and strictly in keeping with their course from the beginning. There has probably been no time since the war commenced when they would not rather have conceded independence to the Slave States than consent to their resumption of their place in the Union, and the renewed enjoyment of their rights under the Federal Constitution. They have sought, steadily and consistently, their conquest, subjugation and extermination as

States, in order that they might found upon them a new empire based upon their own ideas, and to be ruled by their councils. They have sustained the war, not as a means of restoring the Union, but to free the slaves, seize the lands, crush the spirit, destroy the rights and blot out forever the political freedom of the people inhabiting the Southern States. So long as the war promised to give them these results, so long they were for its prosecution. At the first indication that it might be closed before these results should be accomplished, all interest in the issue merges in their political and personal resentment. The real crime of President Lincoln in their eyes, is not that he has, in any way or to any extent, invaded the rights of Congress, or usurped power not conferred upon him by the Constitution, but that he has evinced a purpose to restore the States to their old allegiance, and the Union to its old integrity, upon terms more in conformity with the spirit of Republican Government than those which they seek to impose. His invasions of Congressional rights,—his usurpations of Executive power,—would not disturb them, if they were practiced on their behalf, and for the furtherance of their schemes.

We enter upon no argument in refutation of the assertions or sophistries of this document. Neither branch of its contents deserves serious consideration, and both have been so often urged by the more virulent portion of the Copperhead press, as to have lost the poor merit of novelty. The President approved some of the principles embodied in the Reconstruction bill of Congress, and disapproved of others. He declined, therefore, to sign the bill, but declared his purpose to act, in his Executive capacity, upon those principles of the bill which met his approbation. There would seem to be in this nothing specially mysterious or specially dangerous; yet Messrs. Wade and Davis discover in it more perils to the independence of Congress and the people, than ever menaced England from the usurpations of the whole race of Stuarts. The President desires to terminate the system of Government by military power, which the rebellion has made inevitable, just as soon as the public safety will permit; and he therefore proposes to hand it over to the local citizens of those States, just as soon as they shall number one-tenth of the aggregate voting population. This is a large and liberal concession to the loyal sentiment of the South and to the just popular distrust of military power; and its tendency and purpose are to put the government of the Southern States into the hands of their loyal people, just as soon as the public welfare will permit. But Messrs. Wade and Davis can see in it nothing but an attempt, on the part of the President, to control their votes, and thus secure his own election. The very measures taken by the President to secure the deliverance of the nation from the curse of Slavery, are in one breath ridiculed by these gentlemen as insincere, and in the next denounced as unconstitutional. Their manifesto is simply an elaborate and determined effort to fasten upon the President the stale charge of usurpation, and to fortify, in the public mind, that vague distrust and dislike which the Copperheads have been for months instilling, and upon which they rely for their defeat.

Now, it is by no means impossible that the joint efforts of the various parties thus combined may accomplish this result. If Mr. Lincoln is to encounter the active hostility of every Union man who conspires some single act of his Administration, in addition to that of the Democratic party, which seeks to grasp the power and patronage now placed in his hands; if he is to answer to every professed friend for every personal disappointment he may have inflicted, for every instance of attempted dictation he may have resented, for every failure to discard his own views and adopt in their stead others sought to be thrust upon him; if every Union man feels at liberty to abandon the Union cause as maintained by the Union party, and vote for the bitter foes of both, to gratify some fancied personal injury or neglect, it would not be very strange if a combination at once so unprincipled and so malignant should achieve success. The responsibility rests with the people. We do not believe, that they will suffer themselves to be misled and the cause of the country to be betrayed, by men at once so selfish and so base. But, if they would save the cause they love from this catastrophe, they must awake at once to the real character, and promptly crush the designed effect, of such manifestoes as that which has furnished the occasion of these remarks.

## OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENCE.

## Republican Government on Trial.

Queen Elizabeth's motto was "Semper eadem" ("Always the same"); which some of her enemies translated "Worse and worse."

The description would in one sense be only too true, as applied to affairs in America. But this is far from having run its course. The thing is far from having run its course. A fever has its one-and-twentieth day; and if men, by the will of their director, are exposed to the certainty of disease,—are put in putrid quarters when they might as well have been breathing free air,—there is nothing to do but wait patiently till they "get the turn," and take especial care they do not run the risk again.

In fact, without metaphor of any kind, republican government is on its trial. It is to be proved, once and forever, whether it can make provision for doing the best under the shock to which all human projects are liable, or whether it is to be settled that it has no effectual security against sending incompetencies to the helm, and keeping them there, long enough to be past the art of man to keep the good ship off the rocks.

William Cobbett, once upon a time, used to joke grimly about "King Aaron." There is a nearer danger than King Aaron now; which is the imposition of an Unholy Alliance king, concocted between the successful rebels and their friends who supply kings to Mexico. No men know what they may come to, if they take pains enough. To "slip the slaves' collar on, and snap the lock," is not so difficult either for white or black, as careless people fancy.

Something unexpected happens, and then "Who would have thought it?" is all that is left to comfort yourself withal.

But supposing the "conqueror's Satrap throne'd within their gates" to be escaped. Or it may not come on, in all rigour; it may only end in giving the conduct of affairs to the man best disposed to serve the enemy's turn by compromises. There are scores of such, on the political horizon already, waiting for the time when they shall tax the philosopher for stoicism, and the pious for resignation.

And supposing all this missed, there is another danger to take its place. People will do a great deal for a Republic; but if it will do no good for them, they will try something else. History is full of the cases, where a man possessing brilliant talents for the immediate purpose, has been led by something between necessity and temptation, to dispense with forms, and for the present at least, save the state, in spite of itself. The thing is so common, that the curious in such matters have booked the event as being what they call the *Euthanasia* or natural ending of republics. The friends of free government, all over the earth, dread such terminations, in proportion to the hopes conceived, and expectations raised. For all this the cure is yet in hand. Which is, not to repeat the former mistake. But if men go the way, they must take the consequences.

## II.

## The Kites and the Crows.

The fighting of kites and crows goes on, because the kites fight hard, as is their nature, and the crows had a king-crow who always said, "The enemy must not be beaten so."

And the question now is, whether king-crow is to have another lease. People in the old country are sufficiently unwise, where beginning and carrying on war are concerned; but they would not be so unwise as this. If an English minister had seen nothing but repulses in the Peninsula because he stopped every General who took the road to conquest, his chance would have been small of prolonging his ministerial life beyond the period when reference must be made to the community. The strongest interests in the war could not save him. The most hopeful of speculators would not avail to procure him time for another loan. There would only be one point on which mankind at large would be agreed; and that would be, that whoever guided the state, it should not be he.

When a man has shown good proof that he will not do a thing if he can help it, is there any reasonable hope that a time is come when he cannot do wrong by trying? Will he be so utterly exhausted of the talent for finding excuses to do or to leave undone, as to be converted into a safe guardian of a country's fortunes? It is like expecting that because a horse in time past did nothing but balk his leaps and break his riders' necks, therefore he is the creature of all others to fix upon, to do the like again. It is plain he must have earned knowledge in his line, and it would be sheer folly to trust to inexperienced cattle.

Friends and foes equally know, that America has half-a-dozen men who, if let alone, would, any of them have finished the war in six months. Nothing but the good fortune of having to deal with what they had, could have kept the rebels on their feet for a longer term. At the Peace of Rastadt, Villars said to Eugene, "Your enemies are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles." By a sort of cross purposes, the rebels have had their friends at Washington.

Not that anybody said "Let us play into the hands of the rebels, because they are the rebels," or proposed to themselves as the goal of their ambition the leaving so many dead corpses on the field. But by the constitution of mankind, there are more weak minds than strong, or in other words, strong minds are scarce; and if nations cannot or do not bring some of the scarce article into their management, they must stand the consequences. Perhaps the world is to be better for it, in the end; as it is said that on battle-fields, where the killed were thickest the crops are richest. But it was a heavy price.

The world is one great scene of contest, and for good or evil we must all play out the play. But there is no need to make things worse by carelessness, or leave anything unguarded for which the gift of reason was intended to be a remedy. One good point upon the board for future use, is the way in which the coloured population, so shabbily used on all hands, have conducted themselves, throughout. It is clear they have leaders, or something that does instead. If the wisdom is in each individual head, Ham must have bequeathed to his posterity. The Southerners say the negro is quiet because he loves them. But everybody knows better; and the coloured population of the South will be an instrument of power proportioned to their past forbearance, whenever a government appears which reasonable men can trust. The great question at issue, is to get the government.

## III.

## America's worst failure.

The enemy's redette in New York signals to his employers, that the question of re-election is hopeless. Always trust to the enemy's redette, in any thing that is ill news for his side. Hopeless may well be called the case, of what "both parties in the state admit to be the

worst failure that America has ever produced." The chances must have been diligently weighed, before old friends and supporters would return such a verdict.

In fact, it is giving up everything. It is saying it stands confessed how you came into your present evil case, and when and how you are likely to get out of it. We have here the cause of disease; the doctor, at last, has laid his finger on it. There lacked a head and there lacked a heart; and till we can start with these, physicians are in vain.

It ought to be a warning to moderate men, how they allow side-winds and chance influences to hurry them aloft, with hawk, and spoil, and ruin in their train. If the thing could be begun again, it would be a fine opportunity for Socrates returned to earth, to ask, after his caustic fashion, on what pre-knowledge were founded the aspirant's belief of being a man to guide a nation through its extremest perils, and on what antecedent facts, on a small way, the confidence was built. If all that Socrates would say, could be recovered, it would be of special service, in application to the question which it seems comes next.

How "America's worst failure" should be brought to covet the chances of a second crop of evil, is only explicable by the facility with which men give way to self-flattery, and the multitudes still interested in encouraging this road to defeat. Let us hope the good genius of popular governments will be allowed to interpose, and ward off this last of sorrows from suffering humanity.

Surely, America has had full enjoyment, of the right to do wrong if she likes. It is not necessary to do it twice, to have fully established the freedom of will. She will do right this time, for change. It will be like the soft land breeze, in exchange for the gales that were driving the good ship upon the rocks. Good seamanship is never to spare; but there is a fearful difference between the moderate reasonableness of management, and the resolute determination never to stand away from the danger, so long as the indispensable necessity can be made more of, by delay.

## IV.

## European rule in Mexico.

On the 12th of December 1826, a British Minister said, in the House of Commons, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

In October 1861, it was announced in the English newspapers, that England, France and Spain, were going to make a united descent on Mexico.

The pretence was, that Mexico owed debts. As far as England was concerned, this solved itself into the operations of the same kind of commercialists, who in China, Japan, New Zealand, the Cape, and everywhere, tap the public's cash-box to let the contents dribble into their private pockets.

The thing is so well known, the description in general is superfluous. The latest instance would move to laughter, if the tragical portions could be separated from the rest. A race of Aborigines whose lands it was determined to seize, were furnished with arms, by the British settlers, in order that the colonists might have the benefit of a stout war-expenditure to put them down. And the English Government with a simplicity which, in the case of a private individual, would look wonderfully like complicity, guarantees them their expenses. Such is the brief account of the matter, as to be gathered by the unopposed expression of the public press. It may not have all the precision which might be had, if there was a Fortunatus's wishing-cap of access to all kinds of official or parliamentary information; but this is what is believed in the main, and on the same description of evidence as men act on, in the affairs of common life. The Dutch were once laughed at, possibly by vain scoffers, on the affirmation that they sold ammunition out of a besieged town, for the besiegers to fire into it again. Here is the same thing told of England, and no man cares, except those to whom care or to leave alone will make no difference. And the tragic side, all this time is, that the army is employed at enormous loss, on services where no honest man can wish success, being in the main the same as if on the Union with Scotland in 1707, the British grenadier had been employed to rob the Highland owners of the soil, for the benefit of a London Land Company.

This is the last; and Mexico was at the beginning. This case was so bad, after doing what could be done to disgrace the British name by starting the Unholy Alliance with British assistance, the ruling powers were glad to shuffle out of it, like boys robbing an orchard who are taken with a fear of coming constables, and so, as the slang phrase of their vocation is "cut their sticks." It would be curious to know, how many men buried at Vera Cruz, to say nothing of tax-payers' money, cutting that stick cost.

It ended in sending an Austrian arch-duke to reign in Mr. Canning's New World. And it will not stop there, if somebody does not take care. In vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird. America will bestir herself before orders are dictated from Washington by an Austrian kingling; and redeeming the sad mistake she made last time, will sweep away all chances of success for royal gambols of the kind.

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

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**Large McClellan meeting in New York**—The McClellanites of New York are in the field. A monster demonstration, in which copperheadism did its very best, was made on the evening of the 10th, in Union Square. All that fire-works, processions, music, contending, shouting, speech-making and cheering, could do towards creating a furor, was successfully accomplished. The "enemy" turned out 30,000 strong, and were addressed by numerous men whose names heretofore have been unknown to fame. The majority of the men addressed to speak did not appear. Among those who addressed the audience collected at the various stands, we notice the following names: Hon. John B. Haskins, John M. Davis, Hiram Ketchum, Jr., John Carley, Hon. S. O. Perrin, Hon. Judge Evans of Texas, Hon. F. P. Horton, Hon. Judge Beach, Dr. Daniel Carter, Wm. W. Hewitt, Capt. Rynders, Benjamin F. Cook, and James Cotterell. The following resolutions, which were adopted, will serve to show the complexion of the meeting:

**RESOLUTIONS.**  
Whereas, The line of policy adopted by the Chief Magistrate of the nation in opposition to the plain injunctions of the Constitution and his own inaugural declarations, and under the specious plea of military necessity, he has commenced a system of direct encroachment upon the rights of the States and the people in making arbitrary arrests—in striking down the freedom of speech and the press, and abolishing the right of habeas corpus where rebellion does not exist—in a fanatical attempt to force an equality social and political between races naturally different—in disfranchisement—in holding the electoral vote of States subject to his personal ambition, in defiance of the authority of Congress—and has created a general distrust of his ability to carry the nation safely through the arduous conflict in which it is engaged: and

Whereas, What is now wanting to settle this war, is the election of a President who will administer the Government in the spirit of its founders, and afford an opportunity for the people of the South to return to the Union with rights under the Constitution. [Tremendous cheers.]

Therefore resolved, 1. That the only hope of remedying existing evils, is in a change in the Administration, and an abandonment of its policy.

2. That the salvation of the country now depends on the determination of the people to elect the man of their choice, and it is incumbent upon, and the paramount duty of members of party conventions to ignore all disputed questions of policy, and in the selection of candidates, to regard the plainly expressed wishes of the masses they are delegated to represent. [Cheers.]

3. That success in the election, in opposition to the powerful combinations of this Administration, depends upon the popularity of the candidate with the army, and the final selection must, therefore, fall on one of the great soldiers who has distinguished himself in defense of the principles upon which the Government was founded.

Resolved, That in Jay-Goed, GEORGE B. McClellan [prolonged cheers] we recognize those sterling qualities which characterize the patriot, soldier, statesman and gentleman, and which will insure an Administration alike elevating to the nation and creditable to the civilization of the age; and while we would not disparage the claims of his brother soldiers, we recognize the voice of the million which comes upon the wings of the wind from every part of the land, when we declare him the embodiment of the hopes, as he is the choice of the American people. [Cheers.]

Resolved, That our sympathies are deeply enlisted for our brave soldiers in the field, and that we long for the day when, by ballots instead of bullets, we can maintain the Constitution and the Union, and restore to our country the inestimable blessings of an honorable peace. [Cheers.]

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend the friends of McClellan, [cheers] to hold immediate meetings in every city and county, and give expression to their views as to his nomination by the approaching convention, or by the people; and that they assemble in mass convention at Chicago on Saturday, 27th inst., at 12 o'clock noon, to take such action as may best unite the conservative elements in the coming campaign. [Cheers.]

The following letter from Hon. S. S. Cox, of Ohio, was read:

MONTREAL, August 7.  
MY DEAR SIR: I regret that I was on the wing when your invitation to the meeting came. It was forwarded to me here from Columbus. It would have been a "joy forever" to have been with you at your meeting and to have participated in the general voice, thundering its acclaim over the name of McClellan! Time is said to be a great innovator; but it is a great preserver. Amid all the infamous deflection and petty spite of this most imbecile Administration, McClellan's name is preserved and grows "brighter and brighter" unto the coming day.

I am off on a recreation. I needed it, and hope to recruit for the coming struggle, when with McClellan on the old flag of the Democracy, and around him rallying the masses of the honest of all political creed, we march on to a victory as triumphant as Antietam, and as glorious in its results against the aggressions of the foes to our government, north and south.

Yours, &c.,  
S. S. Cox.  
A letter from Hon. Richard J. Jacob, of Kentucky, warmly sympathizing with the principles and objects of the meeting, was also read.

## Advertisements.

### DR. CHEEVER'S RATIFICATION SPEECH.

"A CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION—FOR THE SECURITY OF THE GOVERNMENT"—A Christian Duty, and a National Necessity.—Speech by REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER, D. D., at the Fremont Ratification Meeting in the Church of the Puritans, on Monday Evening, July 11, 1864.

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RIGHTS OF THE COLORED RACE TO CITIZENSHIP AND REPRESENTATION; and the guilt and consequences of Legislation against them.—A Discourse, delivered in the Hall of Representatives of the United States, in Washington, (D. C.) May 29, 1864. By Rev. Geo. B. CHEEVER, D. D., New York. Francis & Loutrel, Printers.

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# The Principia.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1864.

FOR PRESIDENT,  
JOHN C. FREMONT.

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All orders received up to Monday night of each week, will commence with the next Thursday's paper.

## DR. CHEEVER'S RATIFICATION SPEECH.

The above speech is now ready. The price is ten cents per copy, which includes the platform of principles adopted at the same meeting, both of which make a pamphlet of 20 pages. One subscriber sends us ten dollars, and proposes to sell enough of the pamphlet to get his money back. Another sends us five dollars, to be distributed gratuitously. Let this document be distributed with a liberal hand, and it will do its work. Send in your order to J. W. ALDEN, Box 4381, New York.

## PRINTER'S STRIKE.

### No paper issued last week.

In consequence of a "Strike" of the journeymen printers, for high wages, no *Principia* was issued last week.

Our subscribers will please count their papers by the "WHOLE NUMBER"—not by *dates*, to see whether or not any of their papers are "missing." And they will please understand that our accounts are kept by the *numbers*, not by the *dates*, so that they lose nothing when a *date* is missing.

## SPECIAL NOTICE.

### INCREASE OF PRICE.

After Sept. 1, the subscription price of the *Principia* will be three dollars in advance, payable in current funds.

When the price was fixed at two dollars, it was payable in gold, or its equivalent in specie paying bank bills. Then, the two dollars would buy more than double the amount it will now, in printing paper or any other kind of material used in publishing a newspaper, and if we should increase our price in proportion to the rise in the price of material used in publishing a newspaper, we should fix it at four or five dollars instead of three.

But if we look at it from the gold standpoint, we shall see, at once, that instead of increasing the price, nominally fifty per cent., we have really *reduced* it from two dollars to one dollar and twenty cents, or forty per cent. For instance, a subscriber sends us three dollars to pay for the *Principia* one year in advance. With that three dollars we can buy only one dollar and twenty cents in gold, at two dollars and a half, (the market price) or more or less as the gold market fluctuates. But suppose instead of going into the gold market, we go into the paper market. Under the old regime our two dollars would buy twenty lbs. of printing paper, under the new, our three dollars will buy only ten lbs. But how does it effect our subscribers? Suppose a farmer wishes to raise three dollars to pay for his paper—six lbs. of butter at fifty cents will do it. When the price of the paper was two dollars, and the price of butter twenty cents, it would take ten lbs. to pay for his paper. The same is true in regard to other kinds of produce. So with all kinds of labor. It takes less hours of any kind of labor to pay the three dollars now, than it did formerly to pay the two dollars. The question of a dollar in each subscriber's expenses, ought not to weigh the weight of a feather, or cause a moment's delay, when considered in the light of the great work in which the *Principia* is engaged.

## NEW ARRANGEMENTS.

Arrangements are in progress to unite the *National Era* of Washington, D. C., with the *Principia*. This involves a great amount of additional labor in the publishing office, such as the opening of a new set of books, the transfer of more than twenty thousand accounts—contracts for a much larger amount of paper, on a constantly rising market—and a contest with printers' strikes. These things will consume much time, and coupled with the fact that our printers are now on a strike, may, and probably will, cause some delay. We ask the indulgence of our subscribers, while those improvements are being consummated, and claim our dues of those in arrears. Those who have delayed payment of their subscriptions for six months

and more, will be charged at the rate of two dollars and fifty cents per annum up to Sept. 1, which is according to our old terms, after which they will be charged three dollars according to the new.

Those who have already paid in advance, will not be charged at the rate of three dollars, until the expiration of the time for which they have paid.

As the new arrangement will involve a large outlay, before we can possibly realize anything from the *Era* list, we must call for immediate payment of all arrears, as a matter of justice, and request as many as are able to do so, to send us their three dollars in advance. On these two things, to a great extent, hangs the immediate re-issue of the *Principia* and *National Era* in its united and improved form, which, when consummate, will increase its circulation more than four fold, establish its success as a power in the nation, and make it a self-sustaining institution.

To the Trustees and Patrons of the *Principia* Association the Publisher would tender his grateful acknowledgements for their prompt and liberal responses to his calls, in past years. To the subscribers of the *Principia* who have preferred a paper that fearlessly grapples with the current and popular sins of the day, in both church and state, to one which floats upon the popular current, like dead fish upon the stream, he would offer his congratulations, that we have come to (not passed) the culminating point of success. As the farmer who ploughs his ground and sows his seed, would lose his labor, if he did not gather his crops at a proper time, so we should throw away, financially, years of sacrifice and toil, unless we make one more effort, which appears to be all but absolutely certain to fix the *Principia* on a permanent financial basis, notwithstanding the fabulous war prices of printing material, which alone has rendered this effort necessary.

J. W. ALDEN, Publisher.

## A FLUTTERING AMONG SEWARD MEN.

Our shot seems to have taken effect, as will appear from the following.

WASHINGTON, August 9, 1864.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PRINCIPIA:

I presume you wish to be correct in your statements, and on your account, I take the liberty to say that the statement relative to Mr. Seward, in the enclosed extract from your paper, is incorrect.

In no respect did Mr. Seward urge or advocate the amendment named.

Nor can you find a pro-slavery sentiment in any of his writings or speeches, for the last twenty-five years.

Neither is your inference that Mr. Seward and Mr. Weed hold like opinions, true. I have good authority for saying that they have as often disagreed as agreed, on great political questions.

Mr. Seward needs no defence, but it is proper that a semi-religious newspaper should be truthful.

VINDEX.

The following is the "enclosed extract" from the *Principia* which "VINDEX" appends to his letter.

In his [the President's] Inaugural address, March 4, 1861, after having repeated a former declaration of his, as follows, viz:—

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so;"

he added—

"I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of what I have said [previously, concerning amendments], I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied in the Constitution, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable."

We remember, too, that immediately thereupon, the President nominated to the Senate for his Secretary of State, Mr. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, who in two elaborate speeches had urged the above-mentioned amendment, and by his influence secured the adoption of a joint resolution in its favor.

This statement, "VINDEX" says, is incorrect. Let us see.

We have before us the bound volumes of the Congressional Globe, Parts I. & II., 2d Session, 36th Congress—1860-61.

In its record of the proceedings of the Senate, January 12, 1861, is a speech of Mr. SEWARD on the special order of the day, which was "President's recent message." In this speech Mr. Seward discusses the distracted condition of the country, arising out of the slavery question, and says,

"Congress, in the present case, ought not to be impulsive. It ought, if it can, to redress any real grievances of the offended States, and then supply the President with all the means necessary to maintain the Union, in the full exhibition and discreet exercise of its authority."—page 341.

A little further on, he says,

"The different forms of labor, if slavery were not perverted to purposes of political ambition, need not constitute an element of strife in the Confederacy."—*Id.*

Of the Fugitive Slave question he thus speaks:

"While prudence and justice would combine in persuading you to modify the Acts of Congress, on that subject, so as not to oblige private persons to assist in their execution, and to protect freedmen from being, by abuse of the laws, carried into slavery, I agree that all the laws of States, whether slave States or free States, which relate to this class of persons, or any others recently coming from or resident in other States, and which laws contravene the Constitution of the United States, or any law of Congress, passed in conformity thereto, ought to be repealed." p. 343-44.

Now to the point in hand, direct.

Says Mr. Seward, in the same speech:

"Secondly, Experience in public affairs has confirmed my opinion that slavery, existing in any State, is wisely left, by the Constitution of the United States, exclusively to the care, management, and disposition of that State, and if it were in my power, I would not alter the Constitution in that respect. If misapprehension of my position needs so strong a remedy, I am willing to vote for an amendment of the Constitution, declaring that it shall not, BY ANY FUTURE AMENDMENT, be so altered as to confer on Congress a power to abolish, or interfere with slavery, in any State." p. 344.

Now we ask, does not this cover the entire ground of our statement?

Wherein does it differ from the President's Inaugural, and the proposed amendment itself, with which we associated it?

The Resolution in favor of the amendment is recorded in the Congressional Globe, as above, Part II., as follows:

"Resolved, &c. That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of said Constitution, namely:

"Art. 13. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution, which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish, or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State." p. 1340.

This appears in the Senate Proceedings of March 2, 1861, and is denominated "the joint resolution (H. R. No. 80)." It was sent to the Senate, by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, Feb. 28—see page 1274.

From these dates it will be perceived that the speech of Mr. Seward, of Jan. 12, already quoted from, and also his second speech, Jan. 30, (which we shall notice presently) preceded the introduction of the joint resolution into the Senate, quoted above, and which was adopted by a two-thirds vote, of both Houses. Of the influence of those speeches, and of their author, in the production and adoption of those resolutions, the reader can judge.

Of the first speech, Jan. 12, the *N. Y. Times*, the present organ of Messrs. Lincoln and Seward, made, at the time, the following abstract of his propositions, viz:

"First, That each slave State has a right to decide for itself whether the bondmen, made such by its laws, within the State, is still a man, or only property.

"Second, That all laws of the States, free or slave, which relate to fugitives, or to 'persons recently coming from or resident in other States,' which contravene the Constitution, ought to be repealed." This covers the repeal of personal liberty bills, coupled with that of all laws in slave States which improperly restrain the freedom of citizens from other States.

"Third, That he is willing to vote for an amendment of the Constitution declaring that it shall never be so altered as to confer on Congress the power to abolish, or interfere with slavery in any State."

"Fourth, That he will vote for any properly guarded laws which shall seem necessary to prevent invasions of States, by citizens of other States, and to punish those who may aid or abet them."

Fifth. As to the Territories, the *Times* was puzzled (as we were) to make out Mr. Seward's meaning. This defect was, however, supplied in Mr. Seward's second speech, of June 30, in which, after discussing the question of slavery in the Territories, and stating that there were only twenty-four slaves within their boundaries, one slave for every forty-four thousand miles of territory, he added,

"This, then, has ceased to be a practical question. In lieu of it comes up a great, vital, and fearful question—the question of Union or of dissolution of the Union; the question of country, or no country; the question of hope, the question of greatness, or the question of sinking forever, under the contempt of mankind."

To which the *Principia* responded—

"The country will, indeed, sink forever under the contempt of mankind, if it listens to such teachings."

Mr. Seward—it will be seen, went much farther, in his apostasy from his previous anti-slavery professions, than the *Principia* stated in the extract to which "VINDEX" makes objection. Not only was he willing, for the sake of Union, to fasten perpetual slavery upon the slave States, by an amendment of the Constitution, but to open the Territories, likewise, to the entrance of the plague, and surrender the entire free States to be hunting ground for human bloodhounds, provided "freemen" should be protected from seizure, and "private persons" exempted from the service, reserving a monopoly of the honor to the paid officers of the government, and to their Southern masters.

A glance at the famous Crittenden Resolutions will show how closely they corresponded with the speeches of Mr. Seward, the joint Resolutions, as adopted, and the Inaugural of the President. Mr. Crittenden's words were the following.

"And no amendment shall be made to the Constitution, which shall authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the States by whose laws it may be allowed or permitted."

How then, are we to understand the complaint and the "correction" of "VINDEX?"

He says,

"In no speech did Mr. Seward urge or advocate the amendment named."

We can hardly suppose that such a statement would be gravely based upon the quibble that Mr. Seward's speeches were not made directly upon the joint Resolutions adopted, they not having been before the Senate, nor put into shape, at the time when the speeches were made; whereas the speeches preceded them, and evidently prepared way for the framing and adoption of them. If the friends of Mr. Seward prefer to have the statement made in that form, we will not refuse to accommodate them. Equally welcome shall they be to the fact, which they stumble upon, in looking over the Congressional Globe, that, upon the final vote of the Senate, upon the joint Resolution, the name of Mr. Seward does not appear, on either side. If, after his two such speeches, he dodged the vote, (there may have been some other cause for his absence,) we will not grudge him the benefit, if any, of the circumstance.

In regard to his close affinity with Mr. Weed, we are not told wherein they differ from each other. It is pretty clearly seen wherein they agree.

That Seward and his friends should be ashamed of the companionship of Weed, we can readily understand. That they should seek to throw off that disgrace, along with the odium of having supported the proposed pro-slavery amendment of the Constitution, in 1861, is natural, especially at the present time, and marks the progress of things.

The profession of anti-slavery elevated Mr. Seward to the Governorship of the State of New York, and to the United States Senate. His pro-slavery amendment speeches there, made him Secretary of State. If the remembrance of them should now operate against the continuance of his hold upon that post, he must take his chance! He may have heard of the political aspirant who said, to a circle of his associates: "Gentlemen, I know what I am about. So far as I have gone for anti-slavery, it has helped me. Had I gone an inch further, it would have upset me." It may be true that an inch too far for slavery, may upset a man, in times like these. There are risks in such experiments, as in others. The boundaries of ultimate "necessity" may be discovered too late.

The "irrepressible conflict" is not yet repressed.

## REVIEW.

### Of the N. Y. "Times" reply to the Protest of B. F. Wade and Winter Davis.

Among the dailies of this city, the *New York Times* is—so far as we know—the only pronounced advocate of the Baltimore nomination, and of the policy of the Weed, Seward, Blair and Lincoln administration. To this policy it had been all along committed, before the Baltimore Convention was held. To the *Times*, therefore, all eyes have been turned, for a reply to the protest of Messrs. WADE and H. WINTER DAVIS. If there be a journalist in the nation, of sufficient ability to furnish an effective answer, or sufficiently in the councils of the administration to do it, with a semi-official authority, to the acceptance of the powers that be, at Washington, H. J. RAYMOND, Editor of the *N. Y. Times* and the reputed peacemaker of the Baltimore platform, is that man. He has had time to deliberate and prepare himself—time, if needed, to consult with his superiors and associates at headquarters, before committing himself. The Wade and Davis Protest appeared in the other New York dailies on Friday, the 5th inst. Not until Tuesday, the 9th, was its existence recognized in the *Times*. Then it appears, together with the editor's answer, which we transfer to our second page, this day, in the hope that it will be carefully studied by our readers. They will find it to be one of those answers that more than confirm the document written against. They will notice in it the following characteristics.

1. It attempts no denial or correction of the facts adduced by Messrs. WADE and DAVIS.

2. It attempts no answer to the arguments urged by them. This it repeatedly disclaims.—"It would be idle to argue with these gentlemen." Certainly it would!

"We enter into no argument in refutation of the assertions or sophistries of this document." A very frank, but humiliating confession! There is not a word of argument offered, from beginning to end.

3. It attempts no invalidation or denial of the conclusions to which Messrs. WADE and DAVIS had arrived.—A necessary result of the preceding. The facts and arguments being unassailable, the citadel of conclusions was impregnable, of course.

Was there ever before, such a confession of defeat and discomfiture? We can recollect no parallel instance. What then was to be done?

One thing, and one thing only remained to be attempted. That, and that only was resorted to.—What was it?

4. False accusation—abuse—vituperation—impeachment of motives—misrepresentations—from beginning to end—these and nothing else constitute the warp and woof of the answer.—Is this all that the defenders of Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation and policy had to say for them? Then they must be condemned.

5. Incidentally, there is one thing more that the editorial reply of the *Times* has done. It has incautiously betrayed the animus of the policy it is defending, by a revelation of its own, in sympathy with it.

The head and front of the offending Messrs. WADE and WINTER DAVIS, and of the loyal majorities of both Houses, whose Bill the President has unconstitutionally smothered—(condemned by the approving smiles of the patriotic worthies, Garret Davis, Powell, and Saulsbury)—the head and front of their offending, we say, is seen to be the unbending integrity of their abolitionism, that would not submit to the treacherous compromise and re-construction with Slavery and its restored ruler—"Congress and the Supreme Court," that the Amnesty Proclamation had provided for the country, and which the Reconstruction Act of Congress was adapted and designed to defeat.

Such defeat, the President's last Proclamation, nullifying the Reconstruction Bill "is unprepared" to submit to. With it chimes in the *N. Y. Times*, in its abuse of Messrs. WADE and WINTER DAVIS.

"No two men in the nation," says the *Times*, "have been more clamorous for a vigorous prosecution of the war," (how horrible!) "none more intolerant of every one that faltered or hesitated in the crusade of hatred and extermination which they have ceaselessly proclaimed, than they. No measure has been too extreme, no policy too violent, no mode of warfare too savage for their tastes. They have led the van in the blind race of radicalism and barbarism into which they have seduced many public men, of wiser judgment and calmer passion than themselves. They have scouted the idea, whenever it has been presented, in any form, of closing the war until not only SLAVERY SHOULD BE ABOLISHED," (how horrible!) "but until the people of the Southern States should have been reduced to the condition of helpless and hopeless vassals of the central government!"

But where are we? We seem to be reading from the *World*, or *Daily News*, or from a harrangue of Vallandigham or a speech of Powell, Garret Davis, or Saulsbury, in the Senate.—But no! We are reading from the penman of the Baltimore platform—the defender of Mr. Lincoln!

Mark next the congruity of the proceeding with what immediately follows in the article of the *Times*.

"They" (Messrs. Wade and Winter Davis) now issue a manifesto of which the evident intent is to put the government into the hands of a party" (meaning the Democratic) "and the executive power into the hands of an Executive" (McClellan) "who will end the war by a compromise of every contested question, out of which it has arisen, if not by a concession of the independence of the rebel states."

"A compromise?" What a summersault! Why should not the *Times* be pleased with this—after having abused Messrs. Wade and Davis for rejecting just such a pro-slavery compromise? The charge is a libel. But what if it were true?—Why, in the same breath, denounce men for opposing Mr. Lincoln's compromise, and also for following McClellan's? Wherein lies the difference?

The reply, we think, will do as much execution against Mr. Lincoln as the protest which has drawn forth its vituperation. It carries with it the semi-official attestation of the President's metropolitan journalist, the one upon whom, more than upon any other journalist in the country, his support rests—the attestation of the man, who, next to Thurlow Weed (the bitterest known hater of honest abolitionism) controlled the Baltimore Convention, that the President's Amnesty Proclamation, to which the new defeated Act of Congress was an antidote—was and is what the *Principia* has long declared, and Messrs. WADE and WINTER DAVIS have now proved it to be so—a treacherous device for annulling the President's own boasted proclamation of freedom, of January 1st, 1863, which he then predicted would be a "Pope's bull against the comet," which prediction he is now seeking to fulfil by usurping the powers of Congress, playing the military dictator, and giving effect to the vote of one tenth of the legal voters of the rebel States.

On this point, therefore, let there be no dispute, hereafter. The President's "purpose," says the *Times*, is, "to restore the States to their old allegiance, and the Union to its old integrity, upon terms more in conformity with the spirit of Republican institutions than those which they" (Messrs. Wade and Davis) "seek to impose"—which are described to be to "free the slaves, seize the lands," (confiscation) "crush the spirit," (of slavery and domination) "destroy the rights" (of slaveholders) "and blot out forever the political freedom of the people," (i. e. the slaveholders) "of the Southern States."

The "spirit of Republican institutions" to be "restored," by the votes of one tenth part of the voters, as the President proposes, and not subverted, as provided for by the rejected Act of Congress, which requires a majority of them.

This, then, is the declared issue between "the blind race of radicals"—like Messrs. WADE and WINTER DAVIS on the one hand—and the supporters of Mr. Lincoln on the other. We accept it, and abide the result, of which the *Times* itself betrays conscious misgivings, when it says,

"Now it is by no means impossible that the joint efforts of the various parties thus combined, may accomplish the result"—meaning Mr. Lincoln's defeat.

No such "combination" is likely to take place. "The radicals" of the Anti-Slavery ranks, do not combine with Copper-



that work they leave to the Weeds and Vallandighams. As to the assumption of a vote for Fremont, it is, virtually, a vote for McClellan, because it is a vote against Mr. Lincoln. We should be equally entitled to say that a vote for Lincoln is, virtually, a vote for McClellan, because it is a vote against Gen. Fremont.

But we repudiate the ethics and the policy of voting for the Copperheads in office, to keep out the outside Copperheads. We proclaim the right, duty and ability of the loyal voters to defeat both classes of Copperheads, whether they act separately, or combined.

#### "TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN."

It is surprising to notice with what avidity the "Peace Democrats" have seized upon that brief note of Mr. Lincoln, dispatched to Niagara Falls, on his discovery that there was nobody there authorized to negotiate with him. So scared had the Peace Democrats become at the prospect of having the wind taken out of their sails by Mr. Lincoln's adoption of their own platform, that they hastily put on their spectacles, and read the note into a declaration by Mr. Lincoln, that the abolition of slavery was to be his ultimatum in any negotiations for peace. The note did not say so, but it suited their purpose to interpret it thus to their readers, and thus help to raise the clamor against Mr. Lincoln's abolitionism, anew.

Equally remarkable is the avidity with which the anti-slavery supporters of Mr. Lincoln followed in the same wake, adopted the exposition of the Peace Democrats, and cited their testimony as evidence that Mr. Lincoln was pledged against making peace without the abolition of slavery—his Annetty Proclamation, and his rejection of the Reconstruction Act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Peace Democrats and the Lincoln abolitionists, in their united wisdom, it now seems, were mistaken. The President neither said nor intended any such thing. So say the knowing ones, in the secret, at Washington. So says the semi-official New York Times. So says, likewise, the oracular New York Tribune. And surely all these ought to know, better than the expositors on the other side.

From the New York Tribune of Aug. 12.

"Peace" Overtures.—The Times of yesterday contained, we rejoice to say, the following "extract from a private letter":

"WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Aug. 9, 1864. "It is not to be wondered at, that the Opposition journals pounce upon Mr. Lincoln's note, 'To All Whom It May Concern,' as affording them a chance to petting an issue of such vital importance as that affecting the status of slavery in connection with Peace. It is not understood here, however, that it was the design of the President to obtrude any ultimatum in that memorandum, which, at most, glanced at all the questions likely to be submitted on the grave negotiations then in hand, and to all classes of the Northern mind, and of which the matter of slavery is but one leading item. No person of sense, in official confidence in Washington, so comprehends that memorandum as to magnify it into the *sic volo, sic juro*, of the Executive, in reference to matters which belong exclusively to the people themselves. It is not the frame of Mr. Lincoln's mind so to usurp what belongs to the masses, and I am surprised at the construction which you say some of our friends put upon it."

The Tribune proceeds, at some length, in dilating upon the unwisdom of making abolition the ultimatum of restored peace. "We are glad," says the Tribune, "to hear that the President did not mean to obtrude any ultimatum in that memorandum."

Of course he did not. His reasons for not signing the Reconstruction Act of Congress, voted for by all the Senators present, except the three notorious Copperheads, (one of whom had arraigned one of the others for treason, and was himself, afterwards arraigned in turn), assure us that he did not. As a shrewd horse-trader throws out to by-standers, a higher price for his horse than he expects to take, in closing a bargain with an authorized purchaser, so does the President, holding three millions of slaves in his breeches pocket, where-with to purchase a peace, name his highest price first. It was too transparent, we admit, to be of much service. His Amnesty Proclamation and his reasons for defeating the Reconstruction Act, had revealed his real "ultimatum" of peace. "Let one-tenth part of you come back into the Union and vote for me, and by the help of 'Congress or the Supreme Court' you shall all have your slave property back again!" This was the drift.

If the note "To whom it may concern" has any significance besides this, it is a sop to abolitionists to secure their votes, as a balance to the amnesty sop to slaveholders, on the other hand, to secure their votes, likewise. Twenty years ago, this Janus-faced policy was "on the full tide of successful experiment." How it will work, in this day of electric telegraphs, remains to be seen. Even in the days of our grandfathers it was a maxim that the attempt to sit on two stools might bring only a fall between both.

#### CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION.

We must take care that, in our attention to the Presidential election, we do not lose sight of the importance of the Congressional election, and suffer it to be thrust into the background. If we succeed in electing an able and faithful President, he will need a faithful and able Congress to sustain him against a factious opposition, which he cannot fail to have. If we should be cursed with a weak, vacillating, or unprincipled President, we, the people, shall need a Congress that can be depended upon to do all that can be done, to enlighten, or strengthen, or restrain him.

If we are to have a President persisting in usurping the powers of Congress, and that, too, not for the vigorous suppression of the rebellion, but for the conservation of its guilty cause, we shall need a House of Representatives that will have the courage to impeach him, and a Senate that will have the integrity to try, convict, and remove him.

The N. Y. Times of Aug. 2, in expressing its regret at the refusal of Mr. Moses Taylor, one of our millionaires, to accept the post of Assistant Treasurer, offered him by Secretary Fessenden, occupies more than a column in lamenting the backwardness of our rich men to accept public trusts, to which their industrious habits and business qualifications render them competent. This may be well enough. But we cannot agree with the Editor that

"To be done well, the work of government has to be made the business, the whole and sole business of some class or other." Nor do we believe, as the Times' article seems to imply, that that class that is to make the work of government its sole business, is, exclusively, the rich, who have leisure. Political wisdom is not, exclusively, with such, according to the wise man of Israel who was himself rich. Hear him.

"There was a little city, and few men, within it. And there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he, by his wisdom, delivered the city, but no man remembered that same poor man. Then I said, Wisdom is better than strength, nevertheless, the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard."—Ecc. ix. 14-17.

What does this mean?—Mr. L. C. Paine Freer writes, from Chicago, July 24, to the editor of the Liberator, in which he says: "You evidently believe that Mr. Lincoln is intending to suppress the rebellion if he can, and to maintain his emancipation proclamation *bona fide*. Now, sir, I assert that he has no such settled purpose. I aver, and but for the palook that seals the lips of gentlemen high in military service, I could prove,—and that seal by and removed, it will be proven,—that Mr. Lincoln has had at least two agents waiting in Jeff. Davis' ante-rooms, from time to time, for many months past, for some favorable response to propositions of compromise, and that these agents have passed our lines, greatly to the disgust of loyal Generals, with the passport of the President."

Quay.—Does this refer to the visit of Rev. Col. Jacques and Mr. Gilmore to Richmond? Were they there "for many months past?" Have they been there more than once? Or is there, or has there been another embassy in attendance there? The public are entitled to the facts. If we have an embassy to the Court of Richmond, let us know it.

The N. Y. World says, "Peace and abolition are incompatible and impossible." This reminds us of Gov. McDuffie's declaration that "slavery is the corner-stone of our Republican edifice."

The World says further, in the same editorial: "But peace and union are perfectly possible whenever the loyal men of the North and the South will unite to overthrow the traitors of the South and the fanatics of the North. That union will probably take place next November."

So the love of liberty is to be suppressed in order to restore peace! And this millennium is expected to commence next November. Well! we shall see.

"THE STANDARD" IN BAD COMPANY. The President versus Congress. The Case in a Nut-shell.

The President, by his Amnesty Proclamation, proposed a plan of Reconstruction designed and adapted, as is now abundantly demonstrated, to assist the slaveholders, by a one-tenth vote, to nullify the President's Proclamation of freedom, and restore slavery, through the action of "Congress or the Supreme Court."

A bill was passed by both Houses of Congress, providing for a reconstruction of the Union, by a majority vote of the now rebel States, on condition of their abolishing slavery.

The President refuses to sign the bill, on the grounds that it conflicts with his Amnesty Proclamation, and that he is "unprepared" to admit that Congress and President combined have power to give effect to his own Proclamation of freedom.

The National Anti-slavery Standard does not think the course of the President wise, or his action constitutional. It "shares in the general regret that the bill" (of Congress) "was not permitted" (by the President) "to become a law." "It seemed excellently well devised"—"to extirpate slavery in a way that could be open to no constitutional cavils," &c., &c., and to "save us from having the rebel debt saddled upon us, in addition to our own, as a bribe to slaveholders to come back and govern us."

Yet the National Anti-Slavery Standard decries the protest of Messrs. Wade and Davis, as "tinged with a violence of language and bitterness of spirit"—fears that it will "lead to serious defections, and schisms in the party of freedom." Our duty is to "beat the rebels

in the field, and the copperheads at the polls"—this latter to be effected—as we understand the Standard—by voting for Mr. Lincoln.

So the Standard "holds with the hare, and runs with the hound."

If there be any Copperheadism in the country, more imminently dangerous than that of Mr. Lincoln, already in authority and seeking a new lease of it, we confess we know not where it is to be found. And we deny that the people are under the necessity of supporting either the copperheads in office, or the copperheads out of office.

The article of the Standard, as might be expected, is transferred with warm encomiums into the columns of that better reviler of radical abolitionism, the New-York Times, the Weed-Seward-Blair organ, of this metropolis.

While the Wade and Winter Davis Protest is making new converts to radical abolitionism, of the highest type, by tens of thousands, the National Anti-Slavery Standard is exerting its influence against it.

While an Anti-Slavery act of Congress—confessedly "excellent and well devised"—is smothered and murdered by pro-slavery Presidential usurpation, while the champions of freedom in the Senate and House of Representatives, snubbed and insulted by the President, are looking to their Constituents and especially to abolitionists for support, behold, the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society casts its influence against them, and in favor of the President.

\*Another attestation, by the by, to the Principia's intimation that the President's plan of reconstruction does not naturally involve the Federal payment of the Rebel war debt.

#### STATE RADICAL CONVENTION.

We have received authentic information from radical abolitionists in Central and Western New York, that it is in contemplation to call a New York STATE CONVENTION, to be held, in September, at some central point, the object of which will be to determine what can be done to save the Presidential vote of the Empire State from being given either to the pro-slavery reconstructionists of the Baltimore Convention or to the pro-slavery reconstructionists that may, perhaps, be nominated at Chicago.

We have no reason to doubt that the name of FARMER will be acceptable at such a Convention, but learn that there is no little hesitancy in respect to the support of Cochrane for the Vice-Presidency. The substitution of some other name in his stead, will probably be proposed. The same idea, we have occasion to know, is prevalent in other States, particularly in the North-West. Much interest is felt in the course that may be taken at the Chicago Convention.

The Worcester Freedom Club has adopted Resolutions presenting their thanks to HON. B. F. WADE and HON. WINTER DAVIS, for their manly Protest against the recent act of President Lincoln defeating the Congressional Reconstruction bill, and requesting these gentlemen to "issue a patriotic summons to the supporters of the Government, to meet in Council, to consider the remedy for the usurpations so ably demonstrated."

DIED.—In Key West, Florida, on Monday 11th instant, of Yellow Fever, Mrs. Susan Plant of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Correction.—Williamson, Aug. 13th, 1864.

Brother Goodell.—Allow me to correct an error in the heading which you gave to the discourse published in the Principia of Aug. 11th.

The Sermon was preached in the Free Presbyterian Church of Bedford, and published by request of individual members of the "Free Presbyterian, and United Presbyterian churches of that place." The heading would indicate a union of these denominations, which, however desirable it may be, does not yet exist. Very truly yours, J. C. BROWN.

Harper's Monthly for September presents the following table of contents: "An Adventure on the Coast of Australia" (illustrated); "High Private"; "At Home with the Esquimaux" (illustrated); "My Lost Sister—A Confession"; "President Monroe and his Administration"; "The Last of Seven"; "The First Time under Fire"; "Libraries"; "In Bonds"; "Presentation Week at Yale"; "The Wedding"; "Ant Thorneypine"; "The Cafe Greco"; "A Lancashire Doxology"; "Our Bet"; continuation of "Our Mutual Friend," by Charles Dickens. The usual Monthly Record, Editor's Easy Chair, and Drawer, and Fashion plates, conclude the number.

The two articles that follow, explain themselves. We submit them without remark, to our readers.

#### THE FREEDMEN.

At a public meeting of colored citizens, held at the church of the Rev. Charles E. Hodges (South Sixth street, Williamsburgh), on Tuesday, Aug. 9, to take into consideration the subject and effects of the effort which the American Freedmen's Friend Society, and other similar Societies of New-York and Brooklyn, are making to bring the freed people of the South to the Northern States and bind them out as servants, the meeting was called to order by appointing the Rev. Charles E. Hodges as Chairman, and Willis A. Hodges as Secretary. After the calling of the meeting to order the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, The American Freedmen's Friend Society, in connection with other similar aid societies of New-York and Brooklyn, are making efforts to take the freed people of the South (that is, the women from 18 to 30 years of age, and boys and girls from 10 to 15) and bring them to New-York and Brooklyn, where they are offered to the public for the sum of \$5 each; and Whereas, these freed women, boys and girls, are the wives and children of the freedmen who have volunteered in the Union army, and who are fighting our country's battles before Petersburg and Richmond; and Whereas, The freed people of the South are unwilling to be separated from each other, and scattered over the country, as husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters; and

Resolved, That we disapprove of the efforts of the American Freedmen's Friend Society and other similar Societies are making to bring freedmen's families to the Northern States to be bound out as servants.

Resolved, That to do this would be injurious both to the Government and the colored people North and South; that it would stop the colored men of the South from enlisting in the Union army—if not cause the mutiny of the colored soldiers who are now in the army.

Resolved, That it would also scatter and divide the colored people, and hinder our increase, by separating families; and it may also be sent to the Northern States it might become the inciting cause of another murderous riot against the defenseless colored people of New-York and Brooklyn.

Resolved, That we recommend to our colored brethren and sisters to remain in the South, if they can possibly do so; and we would also advise them to leave the crowded cities, and take up land in the country, and settle upon it as soon as possible.

Resolved, That we have confidence in the Government, and believe it will not break its faith with the colored soldiers, and we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to aid it to subvert the Slaveholders' Rebellion. Also, be it

Resolved, That the meeting appoint some proper person to go south at once and present our views to our Government and its agents concerning the freed people of the South; also, our views and recommendations to our colored brethren and friends in the South; and be it

Resolved, That the Rev. Willis A. Hodges be and is hereby appointed as an agent to carry out the objects of this meeting, and we would earnestly recommend him to the favorable attention of the Government and people.

#### THE FREEDWOMEN AND BOYS.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: In your yesterday's issue was published an account of a meeting of colored citizens, at Williamsburgh, condemning the movement, just inaugurated, of placing Freedwomen and children in good homes at the North.

The facts about the Freedmen are these: The wives and children of the colored soldiers at the South are provided for, by the Government. But there are thousands of children, and of women from 18 to 30 and 40 years of age, who are crowded into our lines and supported, wholly or in part, at the public expense. They are able and willing to work, and many of them would gladly come to the North if sure of finding occupation and kind treatment. Gen. Butler, and the judicious and excellent Superintendents of Negro Affairs in his Department, have decided to try the experiment of sending a few hundreds to the Free States, and if it should prove beneficial, others will follow. They are not forced to come, but gladly avail themselves of the opportunity offered, of free transportation. Of fifty, received at this office last Saturday, not one, as far as we know, desires to return; but many are anxious to send for their friends.

Of course much depends on their being properly placed. Simply to land them on the wharves of New-York, or elsewhere, without some previous arrangements for their reception, would be worse than folly, and not in accordance with Gen. Butler's skillful management of whatever he undertakes.

The N. Y. and Brooklyn Freedmen's Employment Bureau takes charge of them, as soon as they arrive. Our clerks and agents take a list of their names, appending to each such items as these: Their former residences, the names of their late masters, of their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and whatever may be of interest to record; also of their present employers.

Before distributing, we group them. For instance, a mother, with two or three children will be placed in one family, or two or three adjacent families. Then a half dozen or more relatives, or former acquaintances from the same plantation, are put as near each other as possible.

Thus we endeavor not to sever the few kindred and social ties which are left unbroken by the rude hands of war and Slavery.

It will be seen that this is not an intelligence office, offering to furnish well-trained and efficient servants. Such will generally find their way to good places without our agency. But we are seeking homes for these unfortunate and untrained people. They need sympathy and patience, on the part of their employers. By proper treatment, their affections can be won and their confidence secured, and after a time many of them will become first-class domestics.

We have no power or desire to bind them out. But in committing these helpless and defenseless children into the hands of strangers, we seek out those who will engage to teach them to read, and secure to them religious privileges exactly as other orphan and dependent children enjoy in our free States.

In the discharge of our duties we expect to be misrepresented and maligned. We expect to make mistakes, but cheerfully endure reproach, and labor assiduously in contributing something to the elevation of a race whose lot has been a hard one, and whom God, in his dealings with our nation, evidently intends to emancipate.

O. S. ST. JOHN, Corresponding Secretary. No. 16 Court street, Brooklyn, N. Y., Aug. 12, 1864.

## THE NEWS.

### THE WAR.

The Demonstration against Mobile.—Continued Union Successes.—The point of interest in the war news, this week, centres around Mobile. The intelligence published in our last is fully confirmed, and we have news of further successes. Our fleet has passed the Forts in the bay with less damage than could have been expected. Fort Gaines surrendered and Fort Powell was blown up by the rebels. The fighting was terrible. Our loss, including those on board the Tecumseh, is estimated at 250. The damage sustained by our fleet comprises the destruction of the monitor Tecumseh and the despatch boat Philippi, together with some injuries sustained by the Hartford. We copy a few of the most interesting and reliable accounts:

AN OFFICER'S STATEMENT. [The account of an officer of the navy, who witnessed the engagement Friday 5th.] Between 7 and 8 o'clock, on that morning the fleet moved in the following order: Four monitors and fourteen wooden vessels, the Tecumseh leading the former and the Hartford (flagship of Admiral Farragut) the latter, advanced. The monitors were the Tecumseh, Manhattan, Winnebago, and Chickasaw. The wooden vessels followed in pairs.

The rebel ram, Tennessee, and gunboats Selma, Morgan and Gaines, were lying in wait under the guns of Fort Morgan, ready to attack the Federal fleet as it approached. It opened upon them with grape and canister—the Hartford and other vessels—with such severity that nothing could withstand the force of the terrific attack. The gunners of Fort Morgan, in the meantime, were driven from their guns, so fierce was the fire from the Federal fleet.

The Tecumseh, in passing the forts, was blown up by the explosion of a torpedo. The captain and all on board, with the exception of ten, sank with her. The Confederate ram, Tennessee, after first attacking the fleet, as it advanced, seemed to return for shelter under the guns of Fort Morgan; but, after the fleet had proceeded some distance up the bay, stood toward them, as if to give battle, whereupon the Hartford, the monitors, and the wooden vessels of the fleet, stood for her, and a most terrible engagement commenced. The Tennessee was rammed by the Hartford, the Lackawanna, and the Monongahela—the Lackawanna striking her under full headway, and all the vessels delivering a heavy fire, at the same instant. The Manhattan, meantime, put one solid 15-inch shot at her, which penetrated her armor through and through, and lodged on the opposite side.

Admiral Farragut, during the engagement, was stationed in the maintop, where he had lashed himself in case he should receive a wound, communicating his orders below through speaking tubes. After a most determined and gallant engagement, the Tennessee showed a white flag as a token of surrender. An officer of the Federal fleet then boarded the Tennessee, and demanded the sword of Admiral Buchanan, which that officer surrendered, and it was taken on board the flagship. The Confederate Admiral was wounded severely, and will probably have to suffer the amputation of a leg.

The Confederate gunboat Selma, in the meanwhile, retreated up the bay, and was followed by the Metacombet, Lieut-Commander Jewett, and Port Royal, Lieut-Commander Ghirardi. The Selma surrendered to Lieut. Jewett. The two other rebel gunboats, Morgan and Gaines, took refuge under the guns of Fort Morgan, and (says our informant) would probably be captured in the course of yesterday.

The U. S. monitor Chickasaw, Lieut-Commander Perkins, steered gallantly up to Fort Powell, and took in tow a steam barge from immediately under the guns of the fort. After taking the barge out of range, she returned and pelleted the fort vigorously for half an hour with 11-inch shells. Fort Powell was finally evacuated, and at 11 o'clock at night was blown up by the rebels.

Of course, as the rebel vessels concentrated their fire principally upon her, she suffered the greatest loss. The total Federal loss, including that of the Tecumseh, (which was blown up by the torpedo and sunk), in killed, wounded, and missing, was about 240.

On the Tennessee there were twenty officers and about 120 men—Admiral Buchanan, commanding. Among the officers beside were Capt. Johnston and Lieuts. Bradford and Wharton.

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT TO COMMODORE PALMER.—The following is a synopsis of a letter from Admiral Farragut to Commodore Palmer, received in New Orleans a few hours before the steamer sailed. He says in substance:—

At an early hour on Friday, our fleet, lashed two and two, sailed into the Pass, close up under the guns of Fort Morgan, pouring in broadside after broadside of grape and canister—thus driving the gunners of the fort from their pieces and leaving our vessels exposed only to the fire of Forts Gaines and Powell, which were, of course, less effective on account of distance. At the same time General Granger's land batteries enfiladed Gaines and caused the evacuation and blowing up of Powell. In passing the forts the Onondaga received a shot which temporarily disabled her machinery, but she was safely towed through the fire by her consort.

Our Monitor Tecumseh was one of the foremost. A torpedo exploding beneath her bottom, she sunk almost instantaneously, carrying down all her officers, only ten of her crew escaping. She was commanded by Captain Tamm A. Craven. Our loss on this vessel was about one hundred. The gunboats, having passed the forts, and being out of their reach, were pursued by the formidable ram Tennessee, and two iron-clad gunboats—the Selma, Gaines and Morgan. Our vessels immediately attacked the ram, and battered him so effectively that he surrendered in a few minutes by hanging out the white flag. Admiral Buchanan, the commander, lost a leg, and with all his crew, are prisoners in our hands. There were only three killed on the Tennessee. She was but slightly damaged, and it is probable that Farragut has made her fit for action by this time. We also captured the Selma, of which Captain Murphy was the commander.



Lieutenant Prentiss, of the *Monongahela*, lost both legs. He is a gallant officer, and has a young wife in this city. Captain Maloney, of the *Onesida*, lost an arm. All the wounded will be sent to Pensacola. Our loss is two hundred and forty killed and wounded. The two remaining rebel gunboats fled under the guns of Fort Morgan, for protection; one of them is aground, and the Admiral is confident that he can destroy them to-day. He has not the slightest doubt of his ability to reduce the forts. But their capture will not give us command of the city, which is extensively fortified at Dog river and elsewhere.

Rebel dispatches, as published in the Richmond papers, are as follows:

MOBILE, Tuesday, Aug. 9.  
Hon. S. E. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy:  
The enemy steamed in, through the main entrance, with four monitors and about sixteen heavy vessels of war. The *Tecumseh*, T. A. M. CRAYEN, was sunk with nearly all her crew, and also, another gunboat, the *Philippi*, which I subsequently burned.

The *Richmond*, *Hartford* and *Brooklyn*, in line of battle, followed by the remainder of the fleet, pushed by Fort Morgan, under full headway, when they were encountered by the *Tennessee*, the *Morgan*, the *Gaines* and the *Selma*. The *Tennessee* and other vessels steamed in close range of the advancing force, and poured a heavy fire into the leading ships. After a desperate struggle between the fleets, the *Gaines* retired to Fort Morgan in a sinking condition.

The *Selma*, cut off, surrendered, and the *Morgan* escaped to Fort Morgan. The *Tennessee*, so far uninjured, steamed toward the whole fleet, and after an obstinate fight surrendered, her rudder disabled, her smoke stack carried away, and, as we suppose, her crew in an exhausted and smothering condition.

On the *Tennessee*, Admiral BUCHANAN was severely wounded by a splinter in the leg. Two were killed and several wounded among her crew. On the *Gaines* two were killed and two wounded. On the *Morgan*, one was wounded.

On the *Selma* eight were killed, including her Executive officer, Lieut. J. H. COMSTOCK, and seven were wounded. The enemy suffered severely and requested permission to bury his dead. Respectfully, &c.,

G. W. HARRISON.  
Confederate States Navy.

MOBILE, Monday, Aug. 8.  
It is painfully humiliating to announce the shameful surrender of Fort Gaines, at 9:30 this morning, by Col. CHARLES ANDERSON, of the Twenty-first Alabama Regiment. This powerful work was provisioned for six months, and with a garrison of six hundred men. He communicated with the enemy's fleet by flag of truce, with the sanction of Gen. PAGE. Gen. PAGE inquired by signal what his purpose was, but received no answer. His attention was attracted by signal guns. PAGE repeatedly telegraphed: "Hold on to your fort." The same night visited Fort Gaines, and found ANDERSON on board the *Yankee* fleet, arranging the terms of capitulation. He left peremptory orders for ANDERSON, on his return, not to surrender the fort, and relieved him of his command. Fort Morgan signalled this morning, but no answer was received, except the hoisting of a *Yankee* flag over the ramparts of Fort Gaines. ANDERSON's conduct is officially pronounced inexplicable and shameful.

A new Orleans correspondent of the *Tribune*, says:

It is officially announced here, from the headquarters of Major General Canby, that the large fleet under Admiral Farragut passed the forts at the entrance of Mobile Bay at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 5th instant.

At the same time the land force, under Major General Gordon Granger, invested Fort Gaines, engaging it in the rear, and also taking the water batteries outside of the fort, in reverse and silencing them.

The rebel ram *Tennessee* made an obstinate fight, but was at last obliged to surrender in a disabled condition, with her officers, armament and crew.

Her commander the Rebel Admiral BUCHANAN lost a leg in the action, and is a prisoner in our hands. Lieut. Comstock of the same was killed. The movement seems to have taken the enemy entirely by surprise, and to have been admirably timed and managed throughout.

The advance was made from Pensacola as a base, and has been long in preparation by Admiral Farragut, but was generally thought here to be only a feint in favor of Sherman, by way of keeping a large rebel force at Mobile.

The ships advanced to the grand attack lashed together in pairs, so that if either one of a pair should be disabled, the other one could tow it out of danger.

This unique idea is said to have been suggested by the Admiral himself, and it has proved very successful. The *Hartford* was lashed to the iron-clad *Metacomb*, and after passing the forts, they cast off, and each engaged the ram *Tennessee*. Admiral Farragut maintaining his usual position in battle, lashed to the mainmast rigging.

Further particulars just come in state that Fort Gaines is taken, and Fort Powell blown up and destroyed. Fort Morgan is closely invested by Granger. The rebel gunboat *Selma* was captured by the *Metacomb*, and the gunboats *Gaines* and *Morgan* are blockaded in a cove near Fort Morgan. Two others were destroyed and sunk in the action. The *Hartford* had her sidewheel crushed by an accidental blow from the *Metacomb*, and will have to go north for repairs.

Admiral Farragut's despatch boat, the *Philippi*, was burned just outside of the forts, but from what cause or how many of her crew are saved is yet unknown.

#### OFFICIAL DESPATCHES FROM ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15.

The following official despatches have been received by the Navy Department:

FLAGSHIP *HARTFORD*, MOBILE BAY, Aug. 15, 1864.

SIR:—I have the honor to report to the Department that this morning I entered Mobile Bay, passing between Forts Morgan and Gaines, and encountered the rebel ram *Tennessee* and gunboats of the enemy, viz:—*Selma*, *Morgan* and *Gaines*.

The attacking fleet was under way by 5:43 a. m. in the following order: The *Brooklyn* with the *Octorara* on her port side; *Hartford* with the *Metacomb*; *Richmond* with the *Port Royal*; *Lackawanna* with the *Seminole*; *Monon-*

*gahela* with the *Tecumseh*; *Ossipee* with the *Itasca*, and the *Onesida* with the *Galena*.

On the starboard of the fleet was the proper position of the monitors and iron-clads.

The wind was light from the south-west, and the sky cloudy with very little sun.

Fort Morgan opened on us at ten minutes past 7 o'clock, and soon after this the action became lively.

As we steamed up the main ship channel, there was some difficulty ahead, and the *Hartford* passed on ahead of the *Brooklyn*.

At forty minutes past seven the monitor *Tecumseh* was struck by a torpedo and sunk, going down very rapidly, and carrying down with her all the officers and crew, with the exception of the pilot and eight or ten men, who were saved by a boat that I sent from the *Metacomb*, which was alongside of me.

The *Hartford* had passed the forts before eight o'clock, and finding myself raked by the rebel gun-boats, I ordered the *Metacomb* to cast off and go in pursuit of them, one of which—the *Selma*—she succeeded in capturing.

All the vessels had passed the forts by half-past eight, but the rebel ram *Tecumseh* was still apparently uninjured in our rear.

A signal was at once made to the fleet to turn again and attack the ram, not only with guns, but with orders to run her down at full speed.

The *Monongahela* was the first that struck her, and though she may have injured her badly, yet she did not succeed in disabling her. The *Lackawanna*, also struck her, but ineffectually.

The flag ship gave her a severe shock with her bow, and, as she passed her, poured in a whole port broadside of solid nine-inch shot and thirteen pounds of powder, at a distance of not more than twelve feet.

The iron-clads were closing upon her, and the *Hartford* and the rest of the fleet were bearing down upon her, when, at 10 A. M., she surrendered.

The rest of the rebel fleet, namely, the *Morgan* and *Gaines*, succeeded in getting back under the protection of Fort Morgan. This terminated the action of the day.

Admiral Buchanan sent me his sword, being himself badly wounded with a compound fracture of the leg, which it is supposed will have to be amputated.

Having had many of my own men wounded, and the surgeon of the *Tennessee* being very desirous to have Admiral Buchanan removed to the hospital, I sent a flag of truce to the commanding officer of Fort Morgan, Brig-Gen. Richard L. Page, to say that if he would allow the wounded of the fleet, as well as their own, to be taken to Pensacola, where they can be better cared for than here, I would send out one of our vessels, provided she would be permitted to return, bringing back nothing that she did not take out.

Gen. Page consented, and the *Metacomb* was dispatched.

The list of casualties on our part, as far as ascertained, is as follows:

Flag-ship *Hartford*—Nineteen killed, twenty-three wounded.

*Brooklyn*—Nine killed, twenty-two wounded.

*Lackawanna*—Four killed, two wounded.

*Onesida*—Seven killed, twenty-three wounded.

*Monongahela*—Six wounded.

*Metacomb*—One killed, two wounded.

*Ossipee*—One killed, seven wounded.

*Galena*—One wounded.

*Richmond*—Two wounded.

In all forty-one killed and eighty-eight wounded.

On the rebel ram *Tennessee* were captured twenty officers and about one hundred and seventy men. The following is a list of the officers: Admiral F. Buchanan; Commander Joseph D. Johnson; Lieuts. Wm. D. Bradford, A. P. Wharton, E. P. McDermott; Masters J. R. DeMoley, H. W. Perrin; Fleet-Surgeon D. B. Conrod; Assistant Surgeon R. C. Bowler; Engineers G. D. Leneg, J. O'Connell, John Hays, O. Benson, W. R. Patterson; Paymaster's Clerk, J. H. Cocen; Master's Mate Forrest, Bebee and Carter.

On the *Selma* were taken ninety officers and men. Of the officers I have only heard the names of two, viz: Commander Peter H. Murphy, and Lieut. J. H. Comstock. The latter was killed.

I will send a detailed despatch by the first opportunity.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant.

D. G. FARRAGUT.

Admiral Commanding U. S. B. Squadron.

TO HON. GIDEON WELLES, Sec. of the Navy.

Another Rebel Pirate off our coast—Sudden appearance of the *Tallahassee*—Her depredations.

The *Tallahassee*, another Anglo-rebel pirate, has suddenly appeared off New York harbor, and is committing serious depredations. On Thursday last she captured and destroyed six vessels—the pilot boat James Fink, the brig *Estelle*, the brig *Sarah Boyce*, the brig *Richards*, the bark *Bay State*, and the schooner *Atlantic*. The crews of the captured vessels were safely landed, after being compelled to sign a paper promising not to take up arms against the rebels. The day following, she captured the pilot boat *Wm. Belle*, the passenger ship *Adriatic* from London, and the bark *Salute*, burning the two first named and bonding the latter for \$5,000. The pirate has ventured within sixty miles of Sandy Hook, and the Captain, it is stated, declares his intention of entering New York harbor. The following is the statement of the Captain of the *Adriatic*:

"Left London July 7, with a full cargo of merchandise and 163 passengers, consigned to Messrs. E. E. Morgan & Co. Nothing of interest occurred during the passage until the 12th inst., at 5 A. M., in latitude 40° 40', longitude 71° 40', when we were ordered to heave to by an unknown steamer, and wait until they boarded us, which they immediately did, informing me at the same time that we were a prize to the Confederate steamer *Tallahassee*, and that they were going to burn the ship, and telling us to hurry up and get ready to leave. The bark *Salute*, of Belfast, Me., Capt. PARMO, from Cow Bay (Cape Breton) for New York, was in sight at the time. They boarded her, and the Captain was compelled to sign bonds for \$5,000, on condition that he would take myself, passengers and crew, into New York City, and commence transferring passengers, and gave them such little time that they were forced to leave almost all their baggage on board, which was burned, together with the ship. In

rounding the ship to, we were so close that we carried away the mainmast of the privateer, and had there been a little more wind at the time, the probability is that we would have sunk her.

After myself, crew and passengers, and the crew and two passengers from the pilot boat *Wm. Belle*, No. 24, which she had destroyed the day previous, altogether numbering 201 souls, were put on board the *Salute*, there was scarcely standing room, and had there been a gale of wind, or even a heavy squall, the lives of two-thirds of those on board would undoubtedly have been sacrificed, as the *Salute*'s decks were even with the water.

13th inst., off Fire Island, spoke and boarded the United States Steamer *Susquehanna*, cruising for the privateer, gave them all the information we could, and they supplied us with some provisions; 14th inst., arrived at New York.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE *TALLAHASSEE*.

The privateer *Tallahassee* is an iron steamer, painted white, with two smokestacks, two screws, about two hundred and thirty feet in length, twenty feet in beam, and draws about nine feet of water. Her bell is marked "Tallahassee, of London, 1864." Engine marked "J. & W. Dudgeon, London."

She is fore and aft schooner rigged; mounts three guns—one small one on the foremast, a long thirty-two pounder amidships and a twenty-four pounder aft. She carries four waist boats. Her crew consists of about one hundred and twenty persons, including the officers. Men of all nationalities are represented on board, most of whom are said to be soldiers from Lee's army.

She is said to have run out of Wilmington without having been seen by any of Admiral Lee's blockaders. She has quite a quantity of cotton on board to protect her boilers and there are four barrels of turpentine on deck to be used in firing vessels.

She is commanded by John Taylor Wood, C. S. N. The Surgeon, Sheppardson, says he was one of the *Chesapeake* pirates.

A Mr. Hall is the boarding officer. The crew are dressed in rags and tatters; some of them wear their pistols tied to them with Manila ropes. They are a hard looking set. The Chief Engineer says he is a Boston man, or that he was born and brought up in that city.

#### PURSUIT OF THE *TALLAHASSEE*.

Admiral Paulding has dispatched several war vessels in pursuit of the pirate. The *Susquehanna* was sent to sea on Saturday morning, followed by the *Eolus*. It is conjectured that the *Junia* was dispatched from Hampton, roads on Saturday. The gunboat *Merrimac*, Captain Budd, six guns, left the lower quarantine on Saturday, bound on another mission, but she will keep a sharp lookout for the pirate.

Secretary Welles has issued orders for the despatch of vessels from New-York, Hampton Roads, and Portland in pursuit of the pirate. Major-General Peck has asked the War Department for authority to give transportation home to the crews of the vessels captured by the *Tallahassee*. They number about fifty persons, and are in a destitute condition.

The apparent discrepancy in relation to the movements of the privateer is probably from the fact that some captains have reported civil and others nautical time.

#### LATER.

The foregoing war news was in type last week. Owing to the unavoidable delay in the issue of our paper it may seem to our readers a little behind time, but it is all important—more so than anything which has transpired since—and we trust they will not find it uninteresting. We can give but a brief abstract of what has occurred since.

The latest intelligence from Admiral Farragut is to the effect that he had demanded the surrender of Fort Morgan, which had been refused, the rebel commander asserting that he has a large garrison and provisions for six months. Admiral Farragut was about attacking, and Gen. Granger, with his land forces in the rear of the fort, had cut off all communication with the main land and the city. All non-combatants have been ordered out of Mobile, and the people urged by the Mayor to defend the city to the last extremity. Admiral Farragut is confident of success.

Gen. Grant has suddenly thrown his army between Richmond and Petersburg, to the evident embarrassment of Lee, who dares not leave either point unguarded. A considerable portion of the rebel army has, however, strongly contested our position, and some pretty severe fighting has occurred. The most serious contest occurred on Friday, the enemy endeavoring to regain possession of the Weldon road, which we held. The fighting was very severe, the Rebels at one time succeeding in turning our flank and forcing our line but by the timely arrival of reinforcements we succeeded in regaining our position. Our loss was about 3,000; that of the enemy much greater. A canal is being dug by our forces through Dutch Gap, for the purpose of cutting off the rebel obstructions in that portion of the river which forms the peninsula known as Farrar's Island, and making a short cut to Richmond. It has been stated that Gen. Burnside has been relieved of his command, but the statement has since been denied.

From Georgia we learn that on the 14th, the rebel Gen. Wheeler, suddenly appeared before Dalton, with 5,000 men and demanded the surrender of the city. Upon refusal, the rebels opened an attack, which was heroically repulsed by our gallant garrison of only 400 men, who succeeded in keeping them at bay till the arrival of reinforcements. They were finally driven off by the 14th U. S. Colored Regiment, Capt. Morgan, who fought with the most thrilling heroism. Gen. Sherman maintains his position before Atlanta.

Gen. Sheridan has had some skirmishing with Early in the Shenandoah. It is not definitely known how strong the rebel force is at this point.

The rebel pirate *Tallahassee* continues her course uninterrupted. She has already destroyed over thirty vessels. She ran into Halifax last Friday, and succeeded in laying in three hundred tons of coal, when she was ordered off by Admiral Hope. She was last seen on Sunday, not far from Halifax, steering north, probably for a raid upon the Newfoundland fishing vessels.

From Charleston harbor we learn that the blockade runner *Prince Albert* was stranded and destroyed off Charleston on the 9th. Operations are about to be renewed in Florida by

Gen. Hatch. The bombardment of Sumter continues.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

Terrible explosion at City Point.  
—Many lives lost and much property destroyed.

CITY POINT, Va., August 10, 1864.

About eleven o'clock yesterday a noise resembling the explosion of a magazine was heard at the headquarters of the army of the Potomac, and many surmises were indulged in as to the direction from which it came and its cause. During the afternoon word came that a boat loaded with ammunition had exploded at City Point, causing a frightful loss of life and great destruction of property. On reaching the scene of disaster a spectacle was presented utterly indescribable. Buildings had been demolished, tents thrown down and horses killed in every direction. The depot building, just completed, was a mass of ruins, while the ground for hundreds of yards was covered with property of every description. The dead and wounded had been extracted from the ruins and carried to some distance back—the former for burial and the latter to be sent to the hospitals. A boat, loaded with various kinds of ammunition, was being unloaded by the negroes of the Quartermaster's Department, nearly a hundred in number, and the only theory advanced as to the cause of the calamity is that a shell must have been dropped by one of them, thus communicating the fire to the entire mass. The noise lasted about thirty seconds, as witnesses say, and the shock was felt for a long distance. On the side of the road, in front of the landing, were located a number of offices and stores, among them the Post Office and Adam's Express office, which were almost utterly thrown down, the large number of persons occupying them, miraculously escaping with but slight bruises. In the rear of this is a steep bank covered with tents on its summit, occupied chiefly by the colored laborers and their families. Had the ground been level the loss of life would, no doubt, have been far greater than it was. Shells, balls, and shot of every kind, struck this bank in a perfect shower, while the ground in the vicinity is actually covered with all kinds of stores. A large number of old saddles and pieces of harness are among the debris. A boat loaded with stores lying alongside another one was torn to pieces, a large portion of it being raised completely out of the water and thrown through the storehouse on the dock. A number of bodies of colored persons have been found, and there are sixteen in the post hospital, while others are scattered in different localities. Twenty-five colored men, more or less wounded, were taken to the colored general hospital, where several amputations were performed. Five shells passed through the Sanitary Commission boat, but fortunately no one on it was injured. It is believed that many bodies were thrown into the river, which will never be recovered. Captain Schuyler, Provost Marshal, who was sitting on the top of a bank of the river, under a fly, was lifted up and thrown a distance of ten or twelve feet, receiving a shower of shells around him, but, strange to say, escaped, without a scratch. A crew loss is put down at about thirty killed and seventy or eighty wounded, twelve of the killed being soldiers. Nothing as yet has been discovered as to the cause of the calamity. In the Commissary Department six men are known to be killed, and some twenty-five wounded. Three men belonging to the railroad were injured. The loss of property is not known; but it will prove to be very large. The Twentieth New York Volunteers lost six killed and seventeen wounded. The One Hundred and Forty-eighth Ohio, lost three killed and four wounded. The boat *Lewis* caught fire, when a wrecking tug ran ashore and, extending her hose, threw six streams on the fire, putting out the flames, and thus saving a large amount of ammunition.

The following is the address of Gov. Saunders to the citizens of Nebraska:  
"The news from our Western border is alarming. Numerous trains of emigrants and freight have been attacked and the owners killed, wagons destroyed, and stock run off. No less than four different points on the route between our Territory and Denver were attacked in one day. The Indians are now known to be infesting these roads for a distance of several hundred miles."  
"All the available Government troops have been sent forward. We need more men in order to punish these savages, and give security to our frontier settlers. In order to meet the need I have thought proper to call the able-bodied militia to organize a few companies of minute men—men who can and will, if necessary, move at a moment's warning, to the scene of these depredations, and assist in punishing the murderers and robbers, driving them from the country."  
"I make this appeal to our people confident that it will be responded to promptly and willingly on their part."

"The Adjutant General has to-day issued a special order from these headquarters, giving particulars in regard to the manner of organizing and reporting these companies."

ALVIN SAUNDERS.  
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

The New Arctic Expedition.—The following is the latest news received from Captain Hall's Arctic expedition:

"St. John's Harbor, N. F., July 18, 1864, a. m."

"We are now on board the *Hecla*, F. tender to the *Monticello*, bound down the Harbor to join the ship, which has remained outside since Friday evening, the time Captain Chapin and myself left her. The reason of our delay has been on account of not being able to get the men on board that had been pre-arranged for the vessel."

"The St. John's people have been very kind to us, and our Consul, Mr. C. O. Leach, has forwarded the interests of the expedition in a most marked manner."

"I expect to be at home soon, and return to the United States in about three years."

Yours, &c., C. F. Hall.

The New York Enrollment.—Sec. Stanton's reply to Gov. Seymour.—Solicitor Whiting's opinion. A Washington despatch says:

WASHINGTON, August 16.

The Secretary of War has replied to the letter of Governor Seymour, of the 3rd instant, submitting the report of the provost-marshal general, which he trusts will satisfy him. The objections made against the quota assigned to the State of New York are not well founded. The Secretary does not feel authorized to appoint commissioners—first, because there is no fault found by the Governor with the enrolling officers, nor any mistake, fraud, or neglect, on their part, alleged by him, requiring investigation by a commission; second, the errors of enrollment, if there be any, can readily be corrected by the Board of Enrollment, established by law for the correction of the enrollment; third, the commissions would not have, nor has the President nor Secretary of War, power to change the basis of draft prescribed by the act of Congress; fourth, the commission would operate to postpone the draft, and perhaps fatally delay strengthening the armies now in the field, thus aiding the enemy and endangering the national government. Every facility, he says, will be offered by the War Department to correct any error or mistake that may appear in the enrollment, and no effort will be spared to do justice to the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and apply the law with equality and fairness to every district and every state.

Solicitor Whiting, in his last opinion on the subject, says: "When the time comes for calling out the forces of the respective districts, the enrollments thereof, which have been previously subject to correction, must be taken as a basis for ascertaining and assigning the quotas. This is the positive requirement of the act of Congress. To adopt any other mode of estimating or computing quotas, would be a plain and unjustifiable violation of law, to increase or diminish the quota by abandoning this standard erected by the statutes, will be an exercise of power which can find no legal excuse in any alleged error of the enrollment."

The Pennsylvania Soldier's vote.—

We stated in our last, that the majority in allowing the soldiers to vote, in Pennsylvania, was only about 10,000. The returns were not all in, at that time. Later returns give larger figures, estimating the vote for the amendment at 200,000, and the vote against at 110,000, making a majority of 90,000 in favor of granting the soldiers the right of suffrage. Those portions of the State which have heretofore been notorious for their large copperhead majorities, were of course the ones to vote "no" to the amendment in question.

Indians on the frontier.—A despatch from Omaha City, N. T., dated 10th, says:

The Indians are hourly committing new depredations, stealing stock, burning trains and killing indiscriminately.

They were within a hundred yards of the pickets at Fort Kearney last night, and fired an arrow at one of them.

A coach arrived at Fort Kearney this morning, and reports passing several trains which had been burned, and eleven dead bodies by the roadside.

A party of six whites were killed at Thirty-two Mile Creek last night.

The Indians have stolen all the stock at Cotton-wood Station, ninety miles west of Fort Kearney.

This morning a party of soldiers started in pursuit of them.

It is well known that renegade whites, supposed to be from Quantrell's old band, are associated with the Indians in these depredations.

Despatches a day later are as follows:

OMAHA CITY, Thursday Aug. 11.

Hostile marauding Indians infest the whole line from Fort Kearney to South Pass, a distance of 500 miles, and daily commit new outrages, making forays on stock and burning trains. A great number of travelers are now stopping at Fort Kearney for protection, and waiting for arms. The Indians, in bands of from 10 to 100, move with celerity and possessing a thorough knowledge of the country, elude pursuit. The telegraph line is still in good order, notwithstanding these troubles.

W. H. S. Hughes, Adjutant-General of Nebraska, has issued an order calling for two regiments of mounted infantry for Indian service, to serve four months, and to report to Brig-Gen. Harford and Brig-Gen. Coe as soon as possible.

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## Family Miscellany.

THOU WILT NEVER GROW OLD.

BY MRS. E. C. HOWARTH.

Thou wilt never grow old,  
Nor weary nor sad, in the home of thy birth;  
My beautiful lily, thy leaves will unfold  
In a clime that is purer and brighter than earth.  
O, holy and fair, I rejoice thou art there  
In that kingdom of light, with its cities of gold;  
Where the air thrills with angel harmonies, and where  
Thou wilt never grow old, sweet,  
Thou wilt never grow old!

I am a pilgrim, with sorrow and sin  
Hunting my footsteps wherever I go;  
Life is a warfare my title to win—  
Will I will it or if it end not in woe.  
Pray for me, sweet, I am laden with care;  
Dark are my garments with mildew and mould;  
Thou, my bright angel, art sinless and fair,  
And wilt never grow old, sweet,  
And wilt never grow old!

Now, dost thou hear from thy home in the skies,  
All the fond words I am whispering to thee?  
Post thou look down on me with the soft eyes,  
Greeting me oft ere thy spirit was free?  
So I believe, though the shadows of time  
Hide the bright spirit I yet shall behold;  
Thou wilt still love me, and, pleasure sublime,  
Thou wilt never grow old, sweet,  
Thou wilt never grow old!

Thus wilt thou be when the pilgrim, grown gray,  
Weeps when the vines from the hearthstone are  
Riven;  
Faith shall behold thee, as pure as the day  
Thou wert torn from the earth, and transplanted  
To Heaven.  
O, holy and fair, I rejoice thou art there,  
In that kingdom of light, with its cities of gold,  
Where the air thrills with angel harmonies, and where  
Thou wilt never grow old, sweet,  
Thou wilt never grow old!

## GONE TO THE WAR.

Our boy has gone to the war,  
Our home is dark and dumb,  
O, reproach be marked in the ranks,  
With bugle and beating drum,  
I sit with emptied hands:  
I listen, and gaze afar;  
Life shrinks to a single thought,  
Our boy has gone to the war.

I pray, as thousands pray  
For darling as dear as he,  
Our boy has gone to the war,  
O, what is his fate to be?  
O, what is his fate to be,  
The death wound, the battle scar,  
The hospital couch, the wailing march,  
The glory, or vice of war?

Our boy has gone to the war:  
I'm sorry the Spartan blood  
That should urge him so bravely on,  
Runs low in my womanhood.  
I'm sorry the Spartan blood  
Is fainting for life to live;  
Instead of the grand lullaby,  
I'd only my tears to give.

Our boy has gone to the war!  
In dream-hours, long and lone,  
I lie and think on the soldier's beat,  
How the midnight watch has flown.  
In the chamber cool I weep  
To know I'm the sheltered one,  
While our brave boy marches with wounded feet,  
Under the pitiless sun.

My God! he has gone to the war!  
He marched away with the men;  
I gave him the ring from my hand,  
I blessed him, I kissed him—and then—  
Then, the record's alone with God,  
The sacrament of pain,  
The anguish which said: For the land we love  
We give our lives to be slain.

O, the marching, moaning men,  
O, the brutal, howling guns,  
O, the grey fields where the land lies red  
With the blood of her slaughtered sons!  
How long, O Lord, how long,  
How long before Thy Day?  
How long ere Thine angel of peace shall come,  
And brothers cease to slay?

M. C. A.

For The Principia.

## ROSE SHERWOOD,

OR

## THE STARLIT PATH.

A TALE OF CONSCIENCE.

BY MRS. MARIA GODDELL FROST.\*

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE SLEIGH RIDE.

The soul has its laws of health, as well as the body, and is only in harmony when those laws are obeyed. Rose had acted in accordance with God's laws for spiritual health, or the health of the soul. In the first place she had given conscience the reins of government, instead of impulse, which would have directed her to remain at home, as Helen had done. A new set of impulses were now awakened, in harmony with her higher, better nature. These in their healthy action, created more happiness than those lower impulses, induced by selfishness, could have done. As the body is made better by pure air and wholesome food, so is the soul made better by those conditions that call into exercise and strengthen the higher faculties. Rose felt a new life animating her spirit, a sympathy with God and heaven, and a heart rejoicing in good and noble purposes.

When she reached home, she found luncheon ready, supper being held in reserve for the arrival of Aunt Emily and the three cousins, expected that afternoon. Arthur and Helen were already equipped for their ride, and a large double sleigh with good buffalo robes and merry bells stood at the door.

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"Hurry! hurry! Rose, do hurry!" exclaimed Arthur, "we are all waiting for you."  
"Yes," said Helen, "we want to go, while it is sunny and everybody is out."

"There is plenty of time. Harry is not dressed yet," said Rose. But Arthur and Helen were so impatient to be away, that Mr. Sherwood gave them a drive round the square, while Rose finished her luncheon, and then they all set out merrily together.

"Aunt Emily will be here when we return," said Helen, gaily.

"Yes; and cousin Horace. I have not seen him in an age," said Arthur.

"And Alice, and Emma," chimed in Rose; "but we shall so miss Uncle George. I shall be glad when this dreadful war is over."

"Uncle George is a brave one. He means to stay and fight it out, just as I would do if I was a man. O, it is grand to be a soldier!" said Arthur.

"But this fighting and killing people is so horrible," said Rose, "and the world has been full of it always. I hate to read history on that account."

"Now I like it," said Arthur; "it is so exciting, and so full of adventure."

"It is only endurable when there is some good object in view, and we are quite sure God requires it," said Rose.

"History is valuable as it reveals God and his plans, and we see his controlling and regulating power in all these conflicts, and how truth is preserved amid the wreck, and mark that in the end justice must surely triumph," said their father.

"I never thought of all that," said Arthur.

"I can see it in Bible history, father," said Rose.

"And you, Arthur, can see it in the present struggle."

"O yes, father; it is very plain that God is determined to confound our enemies."

"But why? Not surely for our sakes alone, but because they are the enemies of truth and justice. We can see how God makes the wrath of man to praise him. Little did the leaders of this great rebellion imagine that through them, God would operate to avenge the oppressed, and lift them up into the light of the gospel. Where, upon the page of written history, is there anything so wonderful?"

"Not even in the history of the children of Israel," said Rose; "because, in this case, the very act of riveting the slave's fetters God has made the means of sundering them." "But if they should be re-enslaved!" said Arthur.

"It would not be like God to permit it. Do you think it would, father?" said Rose.

"No, Rose, I think with you, it would not be like God. I believe he has now come to lift up a fallen race. We may co-operate, if we choose, and if we do not choose, the loss will be our own. God's ends must be accomplished."

"Do you think that a little girl could co-operate with God?" asked Rose.

"Why, yes, Rose. I think God would accept of a little girl's help. Why not? We are all weak in our efforts, compared with Him."

"You know I cannot fight, and I am not old enough to be a missionary," said Rose, doubtfully.

"Yet you can give your sympathy. There is great want of sympathy with a despised race."

"What good will that do, unless I act?"

"I am glad to see my little girl so practical," said Mr. Sherwood, "and I think there is no doubt but she will find an outlet for her generous nature. Some one must furnish books and clothes for these poor heathen children in our own land. Can you not interest your young friends, and do something in that way?"

"I mean to try, father," said Rose, "as soon as the holidays are over. Every one now is so busy."

"And what do you think about it, my quiet little lady?" asked Mr. Sherwood, turning to Helen.

"I do not think Rose will succeed," said Helen.

"Why not? Rose has a great deal of resolution."

"Yes, papa, Rose is well enough, and it is all well enough to help the freed-people, but then there is some opposition, and many of the little girls do not care for them. I think they will not like it as well as some other object, like the soldiers, or the Home."

"O, I know they will not!" said Rose, "and I know Helen thinks that we shall lose some of our friends by proposing such a measure."

"Yes, that is it," said Helen, "and why should we, why need we do it when there are other objects that would please the little girls better?"

"Because," said Rose, "there are so many willing to promote the other objects, while there are so few willing to help the freed-people."

"Rose has given a good reason, Helen. We should be ready to help those who are the most neglected. That is a Christian principle."

Helen was silent, but not convinced. Indeed she knew little of the warm sympathy and kindly interest that influenced her sister.

"It is growing cold," said Arthur, "but we are almost home."

"Little Harry is fast asleep," said Rose, trying to lift the child from the seat, as the horses stopped in front of the cheerfully lighted house.

It was now quite time for the Christmas supper, and the long dining room, with its well arranged and bountiful tables, looked tempting to the laughing group, as they passed through to meet Aunt Emily, and their three merry cousins, who now surrounded them with exclamations of delight. This friendly greeting over, and supper was announced. Chicken pies and roast ducks, were now discussed in earnest.

The children were in high glee. Aunt Emily alone looked thoughtful. Her heart was on the battle field, with the absent husband and father.

At seven o'clock Mr. Sherwood lighted the tree, and Aunt Emily assisted in arranging the gifts.

The children remained in the dining room, in a state of impatient excitement.

"How long it takes them to get ready," said Alice, "I think there must be a great many things."

"Mother, do open the door! Isn't the tree lighted yet?" said Emma.

"No, no, Emma; you must not come yet."

"Do, Emma, keep away," said Horace; "how can Uncle Sherwood do anything when you are all the time peeping in at the door?"

"I hope," said Arthur, "I shall get a gun, or a sword."

"That's what I had last year," said Horace, "but now I want a soldier's cap and some books. The History of the Rebellion, or some military work; something for soldiers, any way."

"We shall soon know all about it," said Helen.

"There! Mother is coming."

Mrs. Sherwood opened the door, and the seven children followed her into the parlor.

For The Principia.

## CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY.

Not only as our sacrifice came Christ from Heaven. Man, misguided by his own passions, needed an illustration of the wisdom, the purity, the mercy, the justice, the love, the completeness of the One, the unknown God. Some tangible evidence of the existence of such a thing as holiness was necessary, that humanity might gaze on the beauty of perfection, and be won to a more glorious development.

Philosophy had done for the world what it could; it had been weighed in the balances of experience and found wanting. Faith, hope, and love—sweet blossoms—had indeed, drawing their life-juices from the promises of God, unfolded here and there. They caught the dews of Heaven, and exhaled them redolent of the banks of the Eternal river. But these isolated, imperfect, and almost unknown unfoldings of the glory that springs from the root of living truth, were not enough. There must be a blooming which the world could not fail to recognize.

There must be an immaculate blossom. It came in the darkness of the iron age, the night-blooming Cereus, a vision of whose loveliness shall rest upon the human heart forever. Jesus was born. He lived to manhood's nobleness. There was no stain upon the purity of his character. But the contrast between the holiness of his life, and the blackness of the lives of the time-servers of the Roman world and the Jewish Church was too great, and it was attempted to root out the divine exotic. The attempt failed.

Its roots were implanted in God's omnipotence, and he gave them immortality. Up-rising in the majesty of an unconquerable life, from the earth, where the glory had lain prostrate, it blossomed into Heaven.

But it dropped seeds, like the lily from its stalk, and the Christ-beauty springs up perpetually in human hearts.

The enlightened world no longer does homage to gods whose fancied virtues were a monstrous growth of human vices. The Thunderer's throne has fallen. The Cross uprisen, teaches man that God is love. The worship of pride personified in Juno, the idolatry of licentiousness in the guise of a

beautiful Venus, have given place to the religion of Jesus, that blesses the poor in spirit and the pure in heart.

But with all its meekness, with all its quietness, never were such heroes born to earth as those which draw the inspiration of their heroism from the gospel. Greece had her heroes, and so had Rome; but the heroes of Christ are greater. Conquering sin in the strength of the Crucified, striving with evil that God may be exalted, and humanity uplifted to the divine, their brightness causes the heroism of the pagan world to shrink abashed from before the great deeds of our blessed Christianity.

M. P. A. C.

## OUR CASKET.

REVERE THYSELF, and yet thyself despise.  
His nature no man can o'er-rate, and none  
Can underrate his merit. Take good heed,  
Nor there be modest where thou should'st be  
proud.—  
That almost universal error shun.

Young.

## ANTIDOTE TO DESPONDENCY.

Wouldst thou from sorrow find a sweet relief?  
Or is thy heart oppressed with woes untold?  
Balm wouldst thou gather for corroding grief?  
Pour blessings round thee like a shower of gold!

Rouse to some work of high and holy love,  
And thou an angel's happiness shalt know.—  
Shalt bless the earth while in the world above;  
The good begun by thee shall onward flow  
In many a branching stream, and wider grow;  
The seed that, in these few and fleeting hours,  
Thy hands unsparing and unwearied sow,  
Shall deck thy grave with amaranthine flowers,  
And yield thee fruits divine in Heaven's immortal bowers.

C. Wilcox.

PATRIOTISM.—The most friendless of human beings has a country which he admires and extols, and which he would, in the same circumstances, prefer to all others under heaven. Tempt him with the fairest face of nature, place him by living water under shadowy trees of Lebanon, open to his view all the gorgeous allurements of the sunniest climates: he will love the rocks and deserts of his childhood better than all these, and thou shalt not bribe his soul to forget the land of his nativity.

Sidney Smith.

## BOOKS AND REFLECTION.

I love vast libraries, yet there is a doubt  
If one be better with them or without,  
Unless he uses them wisely, and, indeed,  
Know the high art of when and how to read;  
At learning's fountain it is sweet to drink,  
But 'tis a nobler privilege to think;  
And oft, from books apart, the thirsting mind  
May make the nectar which it cannot find;  
'Tis well to borrow from the good and great;  
'Tis wiser to learn; 'tis godlike to create.

John G. Saxe.

## ASPIRATIONS AFTER THE INFINITE.

The high born soul  
Disdains to rest her heaven-aspiring wing  
Beneath her native quarry. Tired of earth,  
And this diurnal scene, she springs aloft  
Through fields of air; pursues the flying storm;  
Rides on the volleyed lightning through the  
heavens;  
Or, yoked with whirlwinds and the northern  
blast,  
Sweeps the long tracks of day. Then high she  
soars

The blue profound, and, hovering round the sun,  
Beholds him pouring the redundant stream  
Of light; beholds his unrelenting sway  
Bend the reluctant planets to absolve  
The fated rounds of time.

Akinside.

## PLEASURES.

But pleasures are like poppies spread,  
You seize the flow'r—its bloom is shed.  
Or like the snow-fall in the river,—  
A moment white—then lost for ever;  
Or like the borealis race  
That flit ere you can point the place;  
Or like the rainbow's lovely form,  
Evanishing amid the storm.

Burns.

EVERY MAN is a traitor to his order and kind in the creation, who avows a principle, or pursues a conduct unworthy of his high distinction, as an heir of immortality.

Stiles.

## A TRIP IN A FIRE BALLOON.

M. Eugene Godard made an ascent from Cremorne Gardens, in London, on the 20th July, in an enormous balloon of his own construction, which he styles the "Eagle." In this machine M. Godard discards gas, and goes back to the ordinary original Montgolfier balloon, which is commonly known as a "fire balloon." Last year M. Nadar's "Giant" balloon was a subject of international interest, but the "Eagle" far surpasses it in size, and the following statistics may not be uninteresting: It is 117 feet 7 inches in height, 95 feet 9 inches in circumference, 300 feet 6 inches superficial, 30,000 feet in area, 2,005 lbs. in weight, 498,556 cubic contents.

In the centre of the car is an 18 feet stove, including the chimney, 980 pounds in weight; three cylinders, three inches apart from each other, invented by M. Godard, with a view to counteract the effects of the radiated heat upon the occupants of the car. Inside the flue is a metal colander to intercept sparks. The combustible employed is rye straw, cleaned from the ears and compressed into blocks. The total weight of the balloon (including the grappling-iron cords 400 lbs., two supplementary pumps 150 lbs., and combustible 500 lbs.) is 4,620 lbs. The inflation only took forty-five minutes; and M. Godard says that, under favorable circumstances, he can fill and start in less than half an hour.

At a quarter to 8 the whole fabric stood up amongst the trees and poles of the ground, and the various ropes that held it

to the earth were cut away one by one. M. Godard ran rapidly round the solid wicker car, shouting orders through a speaking trumpet with pardonable excitability. Two gentlemen took their places in the car—Mr. Prowse, and an officer in the Guards, and a third heavy military gentleman leaped in, much against the wish of M. Godard. Many were left behind who had purchased seats, but who had doubts at the eleventh hour.

The final rope was cut away, and the huge ball, half the height of the monument, rolled rather than rose towards the east side of the Garden. Here it met a firm lofty pole to which some of its detaining ropes had been attached, and this pole was bent creaking on to the roof of a theatrical Swiss cottage, which broke in like a piece of ornamental pastry. For a few seconds the balloon seemed to return to the Gardens, and to descend towards the grass, while the stokers were seen desperately throwing the small trusses of compressed straw into the mouth of the furnace.

M. Godard raved through his trumpet, and the excitement caused several ladies to faint, and a large portion of the crowd to rush panic-stricken towards the hotel. In less than a minute, however, the "Eagle" had regained her buoyancy. One of M. Godard's companions gives the following account of the voyage:

"Let the reader imagine that he has been riding in the engine of an express train: let him then conceive that this engine, with the fire roaring in the furnace, has suddenly leaped into the air, and he will get some faint notion of the situation."

"There was not much wind, and the balloon, slowly rising, took its course to the southeastward of London. At times it seemed becalmed, and during these intervals of quiet those who looked out over the panorama of London owned that the sight was well worth the risk. The red light glared out and was seen afar; the heat was almost painful, but neither amongst Englishmen or Frenchmen was a murmur heard as steadily, one after one, the trusses of straw were passed into the fire. At no time did the balloon ascend much above half a mile, and at no time did that ugly roaring crackling clamor cease; but M. Godard was bland and brave; his fellow-countrymen were courteous and courageous, and the Englishmen held their tongues."

"At length, after crossing and re-crossing the river, it was determined to descend. Three times already had the balloon passed over the Thames, and when it was resolved to alight, M. Godard was over the Isle of Dogs. He had fixed his eye however, upon the East Greenwich marshes as an open space in which the descent could be safely attempted. Very nicely and skillfully calculated were his manoeuvres. Traversing the Thames at an exceedingly low elevation, the balloon just grounded upon the shore, within a dozen yards of the water."

"Distinctly to understand the fierce excitement of the next three minutes, it should be borne in mind that the fire was still roaring merrily away; that the machinery, so admirable for its special purposes, would have caused sad havoc had there been anything like a general upset; and that at this particular moment six men could exert very little control over a balloon capable of containing 460,000 cubic feet of air."

"Touching the shore, the balloon tore away the big canvas flapping, the bright fire burning; while right in front rose a stone embankment. The shocks were rough, and had the travellers been novices in this particular method of locomotion, we might now have some awkward casualties to relate. Just before each bump, however, the men made a little leap, and thus barked its force, as a cricketer to catch a ball draws back his hand instead of protruding it. Still, with all these precautions, it was a nasty drive; it occupied perhaps a minute—it seemed half an hour—an there was a strong inclination to cheer when the threatening stones were passed. On now into a potato field; another rise; a wild tendency to leap at a chimney; a strong exhibition of restraint in the shape of a hundred sensible Englishmen tugging away at the ropes, and obeying the orders that were given—and the whole thing was over."

## RULES FOR HOME EDUCATION.

The following are worthy of being printed in letters of gold, and placed in a conspicuous position in every household:

1. From your children's earliest infancy inculcate the necessity of instant obedience.

2. Unite firmness with gentleness.—Let your children always understand that you mean exactly what you say.

3. Never promise them anything unless you are sure you can give them what you promise.

4. If you tell a child to do anything show him how to do it, and see that it is done.

5. Always punish your children for wilfully disobeying you, but never punish in anger.

6. Never let them see that they can vex you, or make you lose your self-command.

7. If they give way to petulance and temper, wait till they are calm, and then gently reason with them on the impropriety of their conduct.

8. Remember that a little present punishment, when the occasion arises, is much more effectual than the threatening of a greater punishment should the fault be renewed.



8. Never give your children anything because they cry for it.  
 10. On no account allow them to do at one time what you have forbidden, under the same circumstances, at another.  
 11. Teach them that the only sure and easy way to appear good is to be good.  
 12. Accustom them to make their little recitals the perfect truth.  
 13. Never allow tale-bearing.  
 14. Teach them that self-denial, not self-indulgence, is the appointed and sure method of obtaining happiness.

#### MANAGEMENT OF DOMESTICS.

The scarcity of "good help" is equalled by the infrequency of good mistresses. The few who know how to manage domestics, usually have faithful service, so that in general more than half the blame for servants' faults should be shared by their employers. This may seem harsh, but remember that the employed are, as a class, of inferior capacity, needing direction, and most likely to go wrong without it. From her position the mistress has it in her power to guide those not determinedly intractable or helplessly stupid, and it is her duty to do it,—failing in this she sacrifices much domestic comfort, and inflicts positive injury on her dependents. A large proportion of servants are foreign immigrants, ignorant of our customs, needing to be taught almost every thing pertaining to house-keeping, and requiring no small stock of patience on the part of those who undertake the task. Lack of this quality is the beginning of half the house-keeper's troubles. Something goes wrong, and the girl at once "gets a scolding." In most cases, kindly pointing out the error, showing a personal interest in the improvement of the girl, and judiciously praising every attempt at better performance, will keep alive not only kindly feeling but a constant endeavor to please. The girl should be plainly directed as to what is expected of her, and there should be an inflexible requirement of obedience to all household regulations. This may call for no little firmness, but it should be so blended with gentleness that no needless opposition be provoked. Human nature everywhere rebels against harshness, but is attracted by kindness of manner. A judicious mistress will plan to lighten the labors of her domestics. A girl who sees a disposition on the part of her mistress to make work merely to keep her busy, will very naturally and justly take it as easy as possible. If, however, there be a prospect of finishing up, and enjoying a little leisure each day, it will stimulate to cheerful and active performance of duty. Service at housework is, at best, not an inviting employment, not one which parents would generally choose for a daughter; let this fact be kept in mind, and have its influence in awakening feelings of sympathy as well as in inciting just dealing toward those whom circumstances have placed in the position of domestics.—*Agriculturist.*

#### THE WOOL-CLEANER.

OR, A PRACTICAL MEMORY.

A clergyman in Wiltshire, walking near a brook, observed a woman washing wool in a stream. This was done by putting it in a sieve, and then dipping the sieve in the water repeatedly, until the wool became white and clean. He engaged in conversation with her, and from some expression she dropped, asked her if she knew him.  
 "O yes, Sir," she replied, "and I hope, I shall have reason to bless God to eternity, for having heard you preach at W—, some years ago; your sermon was the means of doing me great good."  
 "I rejoice to hear it; pray what was the subject?"  
 "Ah! Sir, I can't recollect that, my memory is so bad."  
 "How, then, can the sermon have done you so much good, if you don't remember even what it was about?"  
 "Sir, my mind is like this sieve; the sieve does not hold the water, but as the water runs through it, it cleanses the wool, so my memory does not retain the words I hear, but as they pass through my heart, by God's grace they cleanse it. Now I no longer love sin, and every day I entreat my Saviour to wash me in his own blood, and to cleanse me from all sin."  
 Truly, a practical memory is the best memory.

#### RIPENING PEARS.

Most fruits should hang on their branches until fully ripe, to be perfect in flavor and excellence. Some fruits particularly so. Early apples, as a rule, are better to remain on the trees until quite ripe. But pears should never ripen on the tree, to be in their highest flavor. They should be *house ripened*, and in this fashion: As soon as the "wind-falls" indicate approaching or premature ripeness, or well exposed specimens on the branches show signs of color, a mature growth, and a fair inkling of the characteristic flavor, pick the whole crop. Pick by hand, and carefully lay them in a basket, as picked. Let this be done on a dry day, when dew is off, so that the pears go into the basket in perfectly dry and sound condition. Then take them into the house, or fruit room, if you have the latter, and lay them by hand again carefully into clean, dry boxes or drawers, excluded from any passing currents of air, and make the room, boxes, or drawers, perfectly dark; keeping, also, the temperature as low as possible, if you wish the fruit to be kept long. Temperature, high or low, will much control the

time of ripening—warm for immediate, and cool for later maturity. Dark packages give the fruit higher color, and better flavor than those exposed to the light. We have tried both, for years, and *know* the fact. In such way of treatment, pears can be kept in season for weeks while, if permitted to ripen on the trees, and fall as they mature, they last not half the time, and are of inferior flavor. A trial only is necessary to prove the facts.

#### WEAR A SMILE.

Which will you do, smile and make others happy, or be crabbed, and make everybody around you miserable? You can live among beautiful flowers and singing birds, or in the mire surrounded by fogs and frogs. The amount of happiness which you can produce is incalculable, if you will show a smiling face, a kind heart, and speak pleasant words. On the other hand, by sour looks, cross words and a fretful disposition, you can make hundreds unhappy almost beyond endurance. Which will you do? Wear a pleasant countenance, let joy beam in your eye and love glow on your forehead. There is no joy so great as that which springs from a kind act or a pleasant deed, and you may feel it at night when you rest, and at morning when you rise, and through the day when about your daily business.

**MORAL EXCLUSIVENESS.**—Owing to the perversion of moral sympathy, there are many persons who separate themselves from human life, substantially following after moral qualities. They have ideas. They give themselves to self-culture.—They are to ordinary life cold and heedless, and indifferent, comparatively speaking. They are like the birds that fly from the house and from the farm, and seek the wilderness, and build their nests in secluded nooks and in the crevices of rocks, and are seldom seen.

There are many persons who think that because they have exquisite sensibility and culture, they have a right to live up among books, or pictures, or philosophic ideas, and let the toiling multitude thunder on their reformations and conflicts down below. They are like men perched upon a cliff, who give no thought to the ocean that rolls at its base, except to look at it occasionally as mere curiosity—and such men have the worst kind of selfishness. Yet they think themselves Christians, simply by reason of their negations. They are not tempted by passions; they do not mingle in human ambitions. They are set free from the seductions of the lower sphere; and they are unlovely because they are cold; and unsympathetic, and selfish—for no man can be a Christian that separates himself from his kind.—*H. W. Becker.*

#### OUR WASTE BASKET.

**PRINTER'S MISTAKE.**—During the Mexican war one of the English newspapers hurriedly announced as an important item of news from Mexico, that Gen. Pillow and thirty-seven of his men had been lost in a battle. Some other paper informed the public, not long ago, that a man in a brown surtout was yesterday brought before the court on a charge of having stolen a small ox (box) from a lady's workbag. The stolen property was found in his wastecost pocket. A rat (raft), says another paper, descending the river, came in contact with a steamboat, and so serious was the injury to the boat, that great exertions were necessary to save it. An English paper once stated that the Russian General Baklanoffsky was found dead with a long word (sword) in his mouth. It was, perhaps, the same paper that, in giving a description of a battle between the Poles and Russians, said that the conflict was dreadful, and the enemy were repulsed with great laughter (slaughter). Again: A gentleman was recently brought up to answer the charge of having eaten (beaten) a stage driver for demanding more than his fare.

A GERMAN out West being required to give a receipt in full, after much mental effort produced the following: "I ish full. I wants no more money. John Swackhamer." This reminds us of a receipt once given by a hand (an Irishman) employed in the Advertising office, in this city. When requested to write a receipt, he sat down and produced the following: "I've got the money, John Burke."—*Portland Courier.*

A boy in Springfield, Ohio, not considered very bright, standing at some little distance from the depot, as he saw a passenger train starting out, said: "Where's them houses all goin' to?"

TWO FRENCH journalists, one a bachelor, the other a benedict—the latter recently married—were in conversation at an opera, when the bachelor asked the other how he got along in his new condition. "Ah my dear, there is nothing like being married. You cannot imagine how happy I am. When I work, my wife is at my side, and at the conclusion of each paragraph, I embrace her. That is charming." The bachelor replied, "Now I understand why your sentences are so short?" This conversation spread through Paris, and the thermometer of conjugal felicity was gauged by the length of his sentences, until at last a wateful lady exclaimed, "What! but a single paragraph in a whole article! Poor woman! A divorce will most assuredly follow!"

AN ENGLISH married lady has consulted her lawyer on the question whether, having married her husband for his money, and that money being all spent, she is not a widow, and at liberty to marry again. Decision reserved.

A PROVIDENCE newsboy, the other day was yelling out: "Washington, 'tired s'rounded!" "What," said a gentleman, "is Washington surrounded by?" "Forts," answered the youth as he dashed away.

"Ma, why is a postage stamp like a bad scholar?" "I can't tell, my son; why is it?" "Because it gets licked and put in a corner."

A DUTCHMAN describes New Yorkers as "very fine peoples, who go apout de streets, scheating each other, and dey call dat pizziness."

A TRAVELER was once announcing with an air of truth, some incredible thing, when one of his auditors vexed at his extravagance, said to him: "But, sir, all that is not much, since I can assure you that the celebrated organist Voger once imitated thunder so perfectly that he curdled the milk for three leagues around."

Old Mrs. Darnley is a pattern of household economy. She says she has made a pair of socks last fifteen years, by merely knitting new feet to them every winter, and legs every other winter.

#### FOR THE CHILDREN.

##### THINGS PAST.

BY AUGUST BELL.

I know a far-off forest,  
 With ledges stern and still,  
 Over which green ferns and mosses  
 Follow their own sweet will:  
 Follow their own sweet will,  
 Following the rock's gray head,  
 And paving under the hemlocks  
 A rare, luxuriant bed.

Beneath the dark green branches  
 I found me a mossy seat,  
 Where, in the quiet shadow,  
 I heard the ripples beat;  
 Heard their musical beat  
 On the smooth stones and the sands,  
 Where the streamlet to the violets  
 Reached up its cool spray hands.

Overhead in the branches  
 Singing me unto rest—  
 Sweet sight for idle dreamer—  
 A brown bird built her nest,  
 The soft winds rocked the nest,  
 With sweet accents on their wing—  
 Can anybody wonder  
 That young birds learn to sing?

Oh! days that I remember,  
 Spent by the laughing rill,  
 Among the ferns and mosses  
 Down in the forest still;  
 In that far-off forest still,  
 Days never more to be!  
 O, would that time could backward turn,  
 And bring my youth to me!

#### DORA'S SABBATH SCHOOL CLASS.

One pleasant afternoon in the winter of 1857, little Dora was hurrying along the streets of the city of J. It was almost evening, and as she passed up Washington street, she saw the old man with his lantern and ladder going around to light the lamps. "It will soon be dark," thought Dora, "and mother will be standing in the door to watch for me; may be she'll think I'm going to stay all night at Sarah's; may be she'll send Arthur to meet me; any way I wish I was at home, this very minute."

All at once she spied a little girl, no larger than herself, sitting on the sidewalk and crying bitterly. By her side was a great basket of clean clothes that seemed altogether too heavy for such a child to lift.

"What is the matter?" asked Dora, stopping a moment as she came up to her.

"I can't find the Irving House," said the child; "mother washes for some of the boarders, and I'm taking these clothes home."

"Why, that is Irving House," said Dora, "that house right on the corner, with the stone steps where all those men are standing."

"I went there once," said the little girl, "but the men on the steps said that wasn't the place, and sent me way off, ever so far to another street, and O dear, I'm so tired."

"Well, it is the place," said Dora, decidedly; "I know it just as well as can be, and I'll go back there with you if you'll hurry."

So the two children started down the street together, Dora walking a little ahead of the other girl, and holding her head up very straight, though she was a little afraid. Her face turned very red as they went up the steps, and past the men who sat there smoking; but no one spoke to her, and in a few moments the clothes were safely delivered to the owners and the children back again in the street.

"Now," said Dora, "I must run every step of the way home, for they are lighting up the gas, and mother never likes to have me out so late."

But just at the moment she remembered that the superintendent had told them, in Sabbath School, the week before, to try and see if each one of them could not bring in a new scholar. Dora did not know any one among her little friends who did not already go to Sabbath School, but here was a poor child who looked as if she had never heard any-

thing good in all her life, so she was the very one to ask. Back went Dora, once more, running after the little girl, and after a few minutes' talk she promised to come to Sabbath School the next Sabbath, if her mother would let her.

"But how shall I know which church to go to?" asked the little girl; "what is the name of your church?"

"I don't know," said Dora, quite puzzled. "I've heard the minister call it the Lord's house; may be that's the name. Any way, you can wait right here on the corner, and I'll take you with me when I come. We go right down this street."

So the matter was arranged, and Dora ran home, to find the family just sitting down to tea, and her mother quite anxious about her.

"That is right, Dora," said her father, when she told her story, "you may do a great deal of good." But her mother looked a little troubled, and said, "Do you think she is a respectable child, Dora?"

"I guess she's 'spectable," said Dora, doubtfully, "for she said, 'Yes ma'am, and no ma'am, to me.'"

Sunday morning came, and Dora with her father and mother, and her brother Arthur, were walking down Washington street, when all at once Arthur began to laugh, and said:

"Do look there, Dora! Don't they look funny?"

"O, it's my Sabbath School girl," said Dora, "and she's got some more with her." And sure enough, there they stood at the corner, five of the oddest looking children—three girls and two boys. The girls wore sun-bonnets, though it was winter, and the boys had only coarse shoes without stockings on their feet. They all stood up in a row, taking hold of each other's hands.

"Why, Dora Woodworth," said her mother, "you are not going to Sabbath School with that set of frights?"

"O do let me," said Dora; "I'll go on the other side of the street, so people needn't think we're all your children."

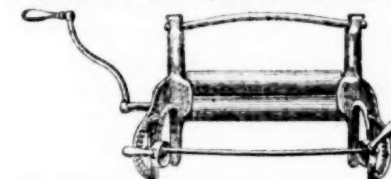
"Run along," said her father, and Dora marched down to Sabbath School with her queer-looking friends, as proud as a hen with her first brood of chickens.

"Miss Clark," said she, walking up to her teacher, "I've brought some new scholars." I should think there was enough for a whole class, and if you please, I should like to sit with them to-day, because they don't know anybody but me, and I can tell them how to act."

If I had time to write I should like to tell you how Dora got along with her little scholars, and how some kind ladies met together once a week to make clothes for them and for other poor children who were gathered in from the streets, till by and by from Dora's little class grew up the mission school of that church.—*Lucius Rogers.*

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